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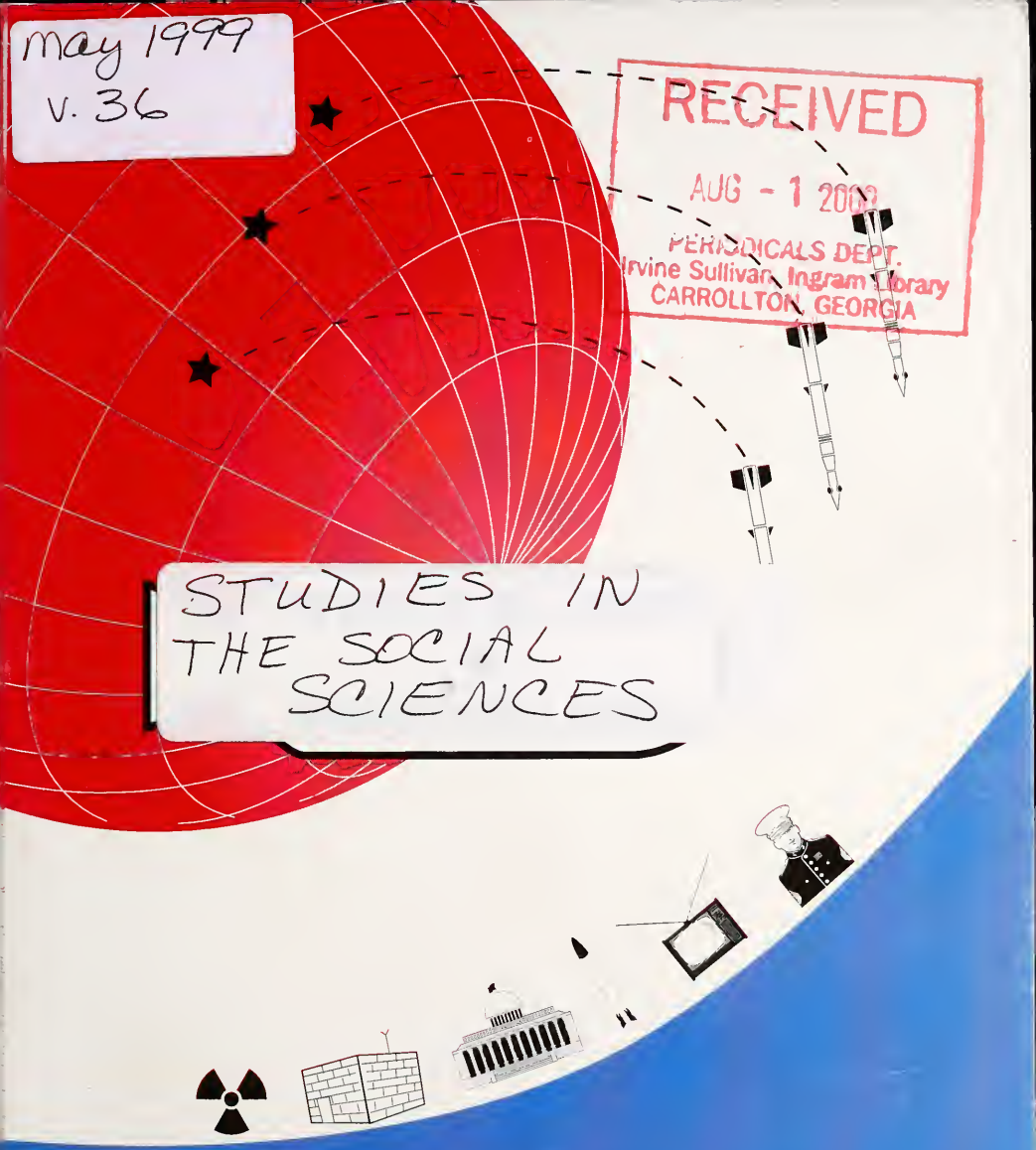

Elaine McClarnand &
Steven Goodson, Editors

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The Impact of the Cold War on American Popular Culture

Elaine McClarnand, Ph.D. and Steve Goodson, Ph.D., editors
Barbara L. Neuby, cover design

The State University of West Georgia
STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Introduction

Elaine McClarnand and Steve Goodson
State University of West Georgia

The Cold War. Less than a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the era has receded from public consciousness, like a bad dream best forgotten. Russia lurches toward a future that is uncertain at best, and the United States gropes for new means of self-definition in a world no longer conveniently polarized between "good" and "evil." A generation has come of age with little memory of the period that helped define the lives of its parents and grandparents. For more than forty long years, however–years marked by tense military showdowns, strident political posturing, ideological broadsides, and ravaged third-world battlefields–the Cold War profoundly colored American consciousness. From the unraveling of the Grand Alliance following the epochal victories of 1945, through a series of incidents that became milestones in the troubled history of the twentieth century–the Berlin Airlift, the Korean War, the development of the hydrogen bomb, the Bay of Pigs and Cuban Missile Crisis, Vietnam, the Prague Spring, detente, Afghanistan–this epic confrontation between East and West placed its grim stamp on U.S. politics, economics, and culture, leaving few areas of daily life untouched.

Of course, the Cold War was far from the only development that shaped the United States in the postwar period. The U.S. emerged from World War II the richest and most militarily powerful nation on earth, and its citizens enjoyed the bounty of this status in a period of unparalleled economic growth. Beginning with the late 1940s, home construction boomed, suburbs expanded explosively, and America entered its heyday as the world's great consumer culture. American citizens spent countless dollars on automobiles, refrigerators, and every other erstwhile luxury under the sun. White collar workers for the first time outnumbered blue collar workers, and an enormous baby boom generation was born and grew to maturity, vastly increasing markets for American goods. Mighty corporations thrived, and chain stores, hotels, and restaurants proliferated as American society maintained its march toward standardization. Government continued to enlarge in size and responsibilities, in part due to Cold War exigencies, but also because of a renewed commitment in the 1960s to address social problems left unresolved by the country's dazzling economic climb. The United States experienced a dramatic racial revolution in the fifties and sixties. This transformation occurred largely on the shoulders of a corre-

sponding media revolution, as television radically altered Americans' perceptions of their government, their society, the broader world, and themselves. The conjunction of these monumental postwar developments – the escalation of the Cold War amid the triumphs of America's consumer economy – forms the focus of our journal.

There is a sense that, from its inception, the ideology of the Cold War was imposed upon the American people from above by an American government seeking to legitimize its foreign policy through appeals to loyalty, duty, and patriotism. It was largely to sever lingering pro-Soviet allegiances held over from World War II that President Truman in 1947 went before Congress to depict a world engulfed by a titanic struggle between totalitarianism and democracy. For the next four decades the government worked tirelessly to assure the devotion of its citizens to the cause, exhorting them, as in President Kennedy's ringing words, to "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to insure the survival and success of liberty." That the "price" might include nuclear annihilation was a regrettable but inevitable consequence to be borne by a people proudly called to the task of "defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger."

With the global conflict posed in such stark, apocalyptic terms, it is little wonder that the Cold War so powerfully molded American culture and society. For as the contributors to this volume reveal, the Cold War was more than a series of riveting military and political events. It came to be part of everyday life in America, penetrating deeply into popular consciousness and finding expression in a myriad of cultural forms. It has become something of a truism for historians that people can and frequently do adapt to their own purposes the ideas and ideals that are offered to them. And so a central concern of this journal is the level of cooperation between the state and the culture at large, the degree to which politics from the top influences culture, and the ways in which popular culture in turn puts its own mark upon those influences. The following essays show that individuals, groups, and institutions within American society often coopted officially pronounced Cold War values of loyalty, freedom, and democracy for their own interests and needs. From below, American consumers forged their own perceptions and understandings of global conflict, while American businessmen and manufacturers catered to and exploited both official pronouncements and popular consciousness. Clearly, the presentation of Cold War themes in popular culture did not always match government expectations. A contentious issue recurring in these essays, therefore, is that of hegemony: to what extent did private entities either unquestioningly accept official policy and initiatives, or consciously shape those demands to capitalize on Cold War tensions?

Janna Jones, Richard Chapman, and Nathan Abrams explore this interaction between public and private spheres during the Cold War. They show the strong imprint of Cold War fears and values on American culture, manifested in products such as GI Joe dolls and bomb shelters, but they also reveal how manufacturers and marketers themselves consciously manipulated Cold War ideology to sell these items. For although American businesses frequently cooperated with government-sponsored propaganda campaigns, they proved in turn highly skillful at employing Cold War slogans and motifs as convenient mechanisms for marketing their own products. Janna Jones examines the campaign to promote bomb shelters during the height of the Cold War, and the dilemma of trying to sell a product which inevitably evoked fears of nuclear catastrophe. She details the facile methods used by marketers who strove to overcome the association of the bomb shelter with nuclear holocaust while affirming middle-class values and projecting the optimistic outlook characteristic of postwar America's burgeoning consumer culture. Richard Chapman analyzes the connection between the GI Joe "action figure" and cultural hegemony. He approaches the GI Joe doll as a tool of socialization, designed to impart a sense of duty and responsibility, attributes deeply and historically rooted in American ideology. The doll became an agent in the campaign to prepare Americans for the international military responsibilities demanded by the Cold War. In the tense and often heated atmosphere of the period, even toys could become political props, changing in appearance in conjunction with the needs and policies of the US government.

Likewise, as Nathan Abrams demonstrates, advertisements for even such benign products as grape juice and candies became vehicles for promoting official values. Using 1950s issues of *Commentary* magazine as evidence, Abrams shows how American corporations such as Ford, Amoco, and RCA employed virtuous concepts such as "freedom" and "truth" not only to sell electronics and automobiles, but also to support the propaganda campaigns of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. All three of these essays raise interesting questions about hegemony and the nature of public-private interaction in the Cold War: was there direct governmental pressure to incorporate official themes, or did companies simply sense the mood was right to associate their products with "trendy" ideas and symbols? Were these companies performing their "patriotic duty," or were they acting more in self-interest, capitalizing on Cold War concerns to maximize profits?

The Cold War penetrated the realm of popular entertainment as well, from fiction and comics to televised wrestling. Here a striking variety of heroes and anti-heroes emerged, reflecting as well as responding to Cold War themes,

fears, and policies. Gary Hoppenstand's essay looks at the influence of the Cold War on postwar fiction, in particular the genre of the spy novel. Hoppenstand analyzes propagandistic elements in the work of Ian Fleming, creator of the romantic British spy, James Bond. Focusing specifically on the novel *From Russia, With Love,* Hoppenstand shows how Fleming purposefully constructed his fictional characterizations to demonstrate the moral bankruptcy and corruption of the Soviet system. The heartless Soviet villains stand in stark contrast to the dashing and passionate Bond, who personifies Western values and virtues.

John Ott examines comic book superheroes against the backdrop of the Cold War. His work probes the strange interplay between Cold War fears of nuclear holocaust and postwar concerns over male sexuality, as reflected in the creation and depiction of such superheroes as Superman, Spiderman, and the Fantastic Four. Concentrating on the comics' "silver age"of 1956-1966, Ott suggests that these comic books present a psychological tapestry of the period. Resonating with angst and anxiety, comic books embodied dominant values while also deconstructing them. They represent a cultural expression of political concerns over communism and homosexuality, but also provided a means for readers to come to terms with their own fears and anxieties.

Jerry Rodnitsky examines television and the Cold War. He critically analyzes the ratings failure of the 1987 miniseries *Amerika*, which depicts the United States under Soviet occupation in the wake of nuclear war. Rodnitsky suggests factors that might explain the lack of audience interest, including internal ambiguities and dark overtones of defeatism that repelled sponsors. Approaching the film as Cold War mythology and allegory, he explores the dynamic relationship between popular culture and politics, manifested in the politically charged and sharply conflicting interpretations of the program by liberals and conservatives. The series, he concludes, was certainly propaganda, yet contained enough subtle ironies and contradictions to make it richly evocative of the real complexities of the Cold War era.

Terence Whalen turns to the arena of professional wrestling, which he views as a form of performance art that, due to its scripted nature, reflects and incorporates broad social and political issues. He tells the curious tale of the creation and unexpected popularity of a unique 1980s tag team consisting of the "American Dream," Dusty Rhodes, and the "Russian Nightmare," Nikita Koloff. To explain the willingness of American wrestling fans to embrace a Russian known for such antics as desecrating the American flag, Whalen provocatively suggests that class-based resentments may have displaced Cold War mistrust as the source for determining heroes in the wrestling ring. The largely working-class audiences that cheered Koloff's triumphs identified with the Russian

as a fellow wage earner, struggling like they were to make sense of a confusing capitalist system. Whalen's work poses a definite challenge to theorists of cultural hegemony, arguing that the creation of cultural images and values is not a one-sided process. According to Whalen, influences from above are refashioned according to the tastes and needs of those generating and consuming popular culture, a process frequently resulting in outcomes that fly in the face of political orthodoxy.

The final paper is by William Glass, who investigates the seeping of Cold War politics into the sphere of religion. He demonstrates the capacity of social forces to make their own political capital out of the Cold War through his analysis of a pre-McCarthy era attempt to use anticommunism as a means of attacking personal rivals. During the late forties, the rising conflict between democracy and communism played into a religious turf battle waged between Louie D. Newton, President of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), and J. Frank Norris, a feisty rival who hoped to usurp Newton and curb what he saw as excessive liberalism within the SBC. Norris tried unsuccessfully to use Newton's public praise of Soviet religious policy as a pretext for removing him from his presidency. To explain Norris' failure, Glass proposes that many in the postwar religious community may have assessed the Cold War and the Russian people through a non-political lens, seeing the Soviet Union as an open field for evangelical activity rather than as a forbidding enemy. Glass' study certainly reveals that as late as 1947 public fear of and hostility toward the Soviet Union had not yet reached the level that would be necessary to support the witchhunts of the McCarthy era. Clearly, however, in a year which witnessed the pronouncement of the Truman Doctrine, the first loyalty investigations of federal employees, and the beginning of Congress' probe into the motion picture industry, there were already opportunistic individuals prepared to turn the Soviet threat into a vehicle for personal political advantage.

It is only fitting, perhaps, that a society zealously promoting the virtues of free enterprise to a divided world would turn the Cold War itself to a profit. Entrepreneurs – consciously, unconsciously, or somewhere in between – seized upon America's anxieties, molded them into marketable products, and then sold them back to the public which had given them birth. Some creators sincerely supported the values that they expressed in their products, while others promoted the values they thought most likely to sell. Some, wittingly or no, exaggerated public fears and biases, strengthening the Cold War mentality. Others questioned reigning principles, and may have served in their own small ways to soften the icy international impasse. In the Cold War we see popular culture in all its complexity and wonder – its sparkling ingenuity and its tired banality, its ephemeral triviality and its timelessness.

The Cold War itself is over now, but much remains to be discovered and understood. As new archives open, historians will learn more about the political realities which created and fueled this epic struggle between superpowers. But it will also be important for historians to continue the kinds of work seen in this journal, so that they might understand the cultural reality that both flowed from and modified the political and ideological foundations of the era. In learning how politics and culture interacted during this traumatic and enormously consequential period, we may gain deeper insights into our system, into our society, and, indeed, into our own psyches.

Living With the Bomb: The Retreat to the Suburban Bomb Shelter

Janna Jones
University of South Florida

The author would like to express appreciation to the following for their help: Mark Neumann, Bryan Taylor, David Payne, Elaine McClarnand, and Steve Goodson.

Introduction

In the years following the first detonations of Russian nuclear weapons, some Americans began constructing bomb shelters in their basements and backyards. Widely read pamphlets on "How to Survive an Atomic Bomb" and articles in *Popular Mechanics, Life,* and *Good Housekeeping* urged readers to begin digging. Construction contractors commercialized the push for bomb shelters and promoted a variety of designs to accommodate different lifestyles and tastes. Guides conducted shelter tours outside supermarkets, downtown department stores and county fairs. Real estate sections of newspapers displayed advertisements for shelters opposite pastoral pictures of split-level dream houses. Constructing a bomb shelter became one of the most ambitious "do-it-yourself" projects of middle-class homeowners, who could follow blueprints published in the September 1961 issue of *Life* magazine. An accompanying article claimed that these shelters could save nearly all Americans from the mysterious and ominous specter of nuclear blasts and deadly radiation. That same year, President John F. Kennedy proclaimed that every American home should have a bomb shelter. By 1962, over 200,000 American families had built bomb shelters and stocked them with food, water, and frequently a shotgun to protect against their neighbors, who, seeking refuge from a nuclear blast, might attempt to enter another family's shelter.[1]

This article argues that bombshelter marketing discourse during the fifties and early sixties revealed an affirming definition of middle-class life in the Cold War era. While the promotion of bombshelters could not entirely circumvent the reason why such an addition to the suburban home was necessary, the marketing that surrounded the bomb shelter depicted a consumer society (that existed in the shadow of nuclear devastation) as progressive, idealized, and optimistic. As Roland Marchand persuasively argues, such promotional discourse can be interpreted as "social tableaux," providing direction to consum-

ers in the midst of a growing consumer society.[2] As consumer choices became overwhelmingly abundant in the early decades of the twentieth century, advertisers stepped in, offering consumers images of the domestic sphere that could be achieved through the acquisition of modern appliances, furniture, and home decor. In many ways, such social tableaux represented an art form that aspired to what Micheal Schudson has called "Capitalist Realism." Like the genre of Soviet Socialist Realism that offered an affirming definition of life in the Soviet Union, Schudson finds a similar function in advertising images. Advertising is a way of validating a vision of modern American life through consumption. American advertising, Schudson contends, offers a concrete representation of reality in its capitalist development that simplifies and typifies. "It does not claim to picture reality as it is but reality as it should be—life and lives worth emulating. It is thoroughly optimistic, providing for any troubles that it identifies a solution in a particular product or style of life."[3] Bombshelters never became an overwhelmingly popular choice for suburban homeowners in America, but their marketing and promotion contributed to the optimistic portrait of middle-class suburbia, consumerism, and aesthetics during the Cold War, despite the fact that the bombshelter's intended function was necessarily intertwined with the potential threat of nuclear war. We cringe in the late twentieth century when we imagine bomb shelter owners believing that such a refuge could possibly protect them from nuclear war. Yet, when we look closely at the techniques of bomb shelter marketing, we can see that the promotional images overtly celebrated the potential of domestic and consumer life, while at the same time burying the purpose behind the shelter.

Nuclear Criticism

Before turning to the implications of bombshelter marketing, it is helpful to establish its context by reviewing how recent criticism has evoked the domestication of the Cold War. Nuclear-culture historians and critics have confronted the cultural contradictions and tensions that faced suburban America during the years of the Cold War, including the domestication of the bombshelter. While little research has focused on the marketing of the bombshelter in relation to its potential aesthetic and practical contribution to the home, nuclear-culture critics have characterized the disparities inherent in civil defense propaganda.

Civil defense during the Cold War has been viewed largely as an extension of traditional American values such as self-determination, personal responsibility, and civic cooperation. Such virtues were seen as being anchored in the domestic sphere. Guy Oakes has described the promotion of domestic civil defense as a rhetoric that did not call for heroics or extraordinary efforts but instead for ordinary labor and entertainment that could lead to domestic self-

discovery. "In the end," claims Oakes, "civil defense for the home articulated a strategy for survival and it also defined a way of life, an ethos that formed the character of the family." [4] Like Oakes, Elaine Tyler May has described how authoritative rhetoric of civil defense juxtaposed the fears of the nuclear age with the security of traditional family values. Civil defense strategies impregnated domesticity with new meaning and relevance, particularly traditional roles of women in the home. "Above all, women, as professionalized homemakers," writes May, "would fortify the home as a place of safety."[5] Jane Caputi effectively argues that the "buried" model for the Cold War nuclear family was the bomb shelter, which offered a flimsy promise of security in an insecure world. Caputi also points to the sometimes painful contradictions contained within the nuclear family home that paralleled the larger cultural tensions of the Cold War. The nuclear family embodied, Caputi contends, the larger, patriarchal power relations enacted between authorities and American citizens. The suburban family, protected by the "guarantees" of patriarchal safety, did not stop rape, battering, and incest. Rather the rhetoric of the nuclear family kept such violence hidden, much like the nuclear testing and war that were kept underground by the fathers of the Cold War.[6]

Gillian Brown, like May and Caputi, makes the argument that women were contained in the domestic sphere during the Cold War to help tame nuclear anxiety and ensure biological and ideological reproduction. Brown, however, also focuses on the bomb shelter as part of a larger ideology of survival by accrual of property. Nuclear shelter, Brown contends, follows a nineteenth-century doctrine of possessive individualism that equates freedom with possessions. Stockpiling and the construction of bombshelters during the Cold War were an extension of a long tradition of the continuation of existence by virtue of proprietorship.[7] Elizabeth Walker Mechling and Jay Mechling suggest that civil defense propaganda attempted to domesticate nuclear fallout by linking it to the banalities of domestic everyday life. Like other nuclear-culture critics, they describe how the bomb shelter discourse emphasized the civic duty of survival and how such survival was firmly centered in images of domesticity. "Americans would come to understand the fallout shelter issue in terms of the family and of the family home," they argue. "Government rhetors attempted to exploit this 'intertextuality' between images of the home and images of the fallout shelter."[8]

Spenser Weart writes that while bomb shelter owners (or at least the ones that survived a nuclear blast) were portrayed in the media as "new frontiersman who could venture forth after the bomb," the mention of shelters did little to comfort people, and instead helped to remind them of the potential dangers of nuclear war.[9] Weart suggests that the civic defense propaganda surrounding

the bomb shelter did little to concretize how people would survive nuclear destruction. Instead bomb shelters were depicted "as architecture, either empty or housing deliberately bland and impassive people . . . The shelter debate drove home the idea of nuclear war as an indescribable catastrophe, while reinforcing murky associations with fantasies of victimization and survival, but it did little to bring the vague imagery into focus."[10]

Finally, Bryan Taylor explores the critical relationship between home and work sites in nuclear weapons organization. He discovers that it is "maintained through a series of related practices in both spheres" and that "inevitable contradictions between the images are alternately engaged, distorted, and deferred."[11] Taylor contends that exploring the competing tensions between "home-place" and "field-site" are essential for nuclear-culture studies. My study attempts to do just that, as I reveal how bomb shelter marketers framed the shelter as a potentially pleasant addition to the suburban home that correlated with American values of consumerism, prosperity, and individualism, while at the same time bomb shelter rhetoric masked the inherent purpose of the bomb shelter in order to assuage the dread and panic of nuclear war.

Living in the Dream and the Nightmare

During the postwar era, Americans were faced with two contradictory realities. Ironically, Americans' lives and property seemed to be imperiled by forces beyond their control at a time when many were enjoying a new autonomy. On one hand, most middle-class Americans were experiencing an economic prosperity that granted them enough purchasing power to create new lives in the suburbs. On the other hand, Americans were threatened with the terror of ultimate and complete nuclear destruction.

The American middle-class in the fifties and early sixties was riding the wave of prosperity that followed World War II. Unlike Europe and Japan, no violence had erupted on American soil, so little economic and architectural rejuvenation was necessary. Wartime technology not only ensured American victory, but enabled American mass production after the war to thrive, creating huge markets of consumption. "It was thrilling to know, absolutely know," explains historian Loren Baritz, "that the next move would be to a private house, from the city to the green suburbs, that the new job would not only pay the bills but bring respect, and that the growing number of children would get the sort of education that would propel then into even more affluence."[12]

American families confidently moved into the nineteen million colonial and ranch-style houses built after 1945. By the end of the fifties, one-third of America's population was suburban. About one million suburban houses were built in 1946, while in 1950 a staggering 1.7 million new houses sprang up in suburbs around the country. From 1950 to 1970 the suburban population doubled

from 36 million to 74 million.[13] "To many Americans," writes Clifford Clark, "this remarkable house boom appeared at the time to be a reaffirmation of the American Dream of prosperity and security."[14] Growing American suburbs seemed to embody the production-line ingenuity of the war, and families everywhere sought the comfort, safety and satisfaction of the American dream in a preassembled package. Possession of a home, for millions of postwar Americans, was the evidence of property that, since Adam Smith and John Locke, had served as a marker of individualism and freedom. The builder of Levittown saw the suburbs as an assurance that America would never become a communist country. "No man," Bill Levitt boasted, "who owns his own house and lot can be a Communist. He has too much to do."[15]

Yet, an uneasiness shadowed the dream, for nestled alongside prosperity was the potential for nuclear annihilation. Less than a decade had passed since the *Enola Gay* had dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese in 1945. The destruction at Hiroshima was only the beginning of America's awareness of the bomb. In September of 1949, an American reconnaissance plane sampled the stratosphere and reported an unusually high level of radioactivity, indicating that the Soviets had set off an atomic bomb.[16] On the first of March 1954, the first hydrogen bomb exploded at Bikini in the Marshall Islands, a thousand times more powerful than the bomb at Hiroshima. One hundred miles east of Bikini, Japanese fishermen watched the explosion. Within two weeks, most of the fishing crew became extremely ill; many of them died from cancer-like symptoms within the year. The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima had destroyed life at its epicenter, but radiation from the hydrogen bomb could kill from a hundred miles away.[17] The public realized that the hydrogen bomb could obliterate an entire city, perhaps even an entire state. "At least some thoughtful Americans of the late 1940s, then, grappled for the first time with the ultimate question," writes historian Paul Boyer, "what meaning can one's individual life have when all human life might vanish at any time?"[18]

This immediately and dramatically altered the relationship between America and Russia, and set the stage for a Cold War characterized by paranoia and fear of oblivion. During the summer of 1961, with the world focused on the Berlin Wall, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev became petulant over the presence of NATO troops in Berlin. On September 1, a huge fireball rose over Russia, as Khrushchev abruptly ended the three-year bilateral moratorium on nuclear testing. He warned the United States of forthcoming 50-100 megaton warheads powerful enough to ignite Vermont.[19] President Kennedy promised that he would let every American know "what steps he can take without delay to protect his family in case of attack".[20] On September 7, 1961, *Life* published a letter from Kennedy urging Americans to read about and construct fallout shel-

ters for protection. The article following Kennedy's letter included simple blueprints for bomb shelters that could be built underneath an existing house. Some middle-class Americans complied by returning to a familiar patriotic psychosis of war production. Like the building of factories, war machines and atomic bombs, constructing bomb shelters could help ensure America's survival.

Trying to suppress their bomb anxiety, many Americans attempted to ignore the threat of possible destruction resulting from an atomic invasion. "Although the nature of the disaster has been stated over and over again, most of us act as though we had never heard of it," wrote John Ely Burchard, the Dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at MIT in 1954. "This is not, in the present state of affairs, a position to be proud of. To say we are bored with the hydrogen bomb is simply inane."[21] Americans were not bored with the threat of unequivocal destruction. They were simply unable to imagine it. The destruction during World War II had not occurred on American soil and Hiroshima was a faraway nightmare. Public safety films focused on the minutes building up to destruction but avoided showing the devastation itself.

Some people did try to cope with the knowledge of the hydrogen bomb by building a shelter under or adjacent to their homes. The home—the symbol of prosperity, safety, success, and permanence—had been the material evidence of the American dream. The fallout shelter threatened to dismantle the security that the suburban home symbolized. "Safety seemed beyond grasp," explains historian Tom Engelhart. "However narrowly an exclusionary line might be drawn around the suburban family, something threatening was already inside."[22] The home with a bomb shelter contained both hope and despair, beginnings and endings, safety and peril.

Yet, importantly, there were other motives for building a shelter underneath the home, reasons that marked financial well-being as well as hope for a prosperous future. An addition of a new room, bomb shelter or not, required a surplus of financial resources and was a sign of prestige. A finished bomb shelter increased a home's value on the real estate market, and the added room helped to accommodate the anticipated the needs of a growing family, for it could be used as a playroom or study. However, unlike typical additions, the shelter's perceived purpose was protection against death. Its construction was not only a symbolic marker of optimism like most home building, but also an addition of darkness. Still, it marked a certain trust in the future because shelter owners were told that in the event of a nuclear blast, their families, unlike families without them, would have a 97 percent chance of surviving.

Yet, despite such an optimistic prediction, not all suburban home owners began digging. Marketers had to work hard to glamorize the bomb shelter. The shelters, they discovered, had to have aesthetic and practical appeal to consumers and foster the yearning for acquisition.

Marketing the Shelter

While Americans were coping with divergent ideologies of prosperity and destruction, bomb shelter promoters were constructing a marketing strategy that appealed to both the functional and aesthetic motives of home owners. Bomb shelters were a difficult product to sell because they would fulfill a need only at a time of nuclear destruction, a need people did not want to consider. Shelters were therefore promoted as attractive additions to the home. Middle-class materialism suppressed, or at least disguised, the purpose of the shelter and the destruction it suggested. By creating designer facades of prosperity and comfort, marketers made the shelter less abhorrent. Yet, the suppression of possible destruction was the shelter designer's ultimate purpose, so the terror could never completely disappear. The seams of such promotion were always under threat of being exposed because of the designer's constant aesthetic attention to hiding the shelter's function.

In 1960, Mayor Richard J. Daley proclaimed the first week of January to be American Institute of Design Week in Chicago in conjunction with the "Family Room of Tomorrow," an exhibit of upscale bomb shelters. Created as a public service, shoppers first saw the "Family Room of Tomorrow" in the lobby of the Merchandise Mart in Chicago. According to Marc T. Nielson, the chief designer of the exhibit:

> Anyone bent on pressing the button to trigger an atomic war will pause when he realizes that a great many of our people can be saved from atomic fallout while he himself might not . . . Instead of facing the task with fear that an attack will surely come, we feel that if we do our job well, it will never come about. In this way we, too, contribute to the cause of peace.[23]

Nielson believed that interior designers could contribute to peace by designing attractive bomb shelters. Whether the bomb shelter would actually protect families against radiation and death was not the major concern. The vision of hundreds of thousands of families burying themselves in their back yards was a symbol of a unified front against a potential air strike. The American Institute of Design surmised that America would be less likely to be attacked if hostile forces were unable to kill people. Shelter promoters linked an attractive bomb shelter design with a larger Cold War brand of paranoid logic, yet certainly they had other motives besides saving the world from destruction. They also had discovered a new market in which to profit.

For bomb shelters to become a form of national security and a profitable enterprise, Americans first had to be convinced to buy a shelter. Shelter marketers and designers supplemented the motive of protection with an aesthetic

incentive. To entice the public to buy shelters, designers introduced aesthetically pleasing and opulent designs that would enhance the public's recently constructed suburban homes. Nielson wanted the public to become interested in fallout protection. In order to accomplish this he proposed that:

> The shelter must be made attractive. A room constructed to all requirements of OCDM (Office of Civil Defense and Mobilization), with no use except in extreme emergency, cannot easily be sold to the public, particularly on such a grim basis. A dual purpose room should do much to stimulate more interest in fallout shelters. A room that can be used permanently would have more appeal than a secluded refuge which one would approach with dread.[24]

"The Family Room of Tomorrow" reveals several contradictions at work in bomb shelter promotion. The cultural contradictions that manifest themselves suggest the ways that promoters managed and marketed some of the discrepancies of the period. In the 1950s, the term "family room" expressed conflicting visions of the home and family as well as a design style recently incorporated into the layout of the popular suburban ranch home. In their campaign to sell products for the family and home, appliance makers and building-material manufacturers presented a new model of middle-class life during the late 1940s and early 1950s. "At the center of this model," writes Clark, "was the image of the family as the focus of fun and recreation."[25] A family room/bomb shelter suggested a simple integration of a shelter into the "family lifestyle" characterized by the architecture of the suburban home. It implied family interaction, barbecues, and Saturday afternoon recreation. Yet Engelhart suggests that the family enclosed in their suburban home not only invoked images of fun but also security. "In the ranch house, the mom protected by her working husband was to raise a new generation of children, fortified by the products of abundance against all terrors."[26] The image of the family and the family room in bomb shelters summoned visions of both fun and safety; while in conflict with one another, these ideals fused together were persuasive promotional images.

By naming the bomb shelter "the family room of tomorrow," promoters veiled the fear of destruction and "no tomorrows" by invoking images of progress and the future. Yet, the name also challenged the notion of progress, for it implied that a nuclear attack was possible as soon as tomorrow, giving urgency to the project and to the public's need to build shelters. The incongruous representations of leisure and survival were the most powerful conflicts contained within the recreational room. Had the family room of tomorrow been necessary in an actual nuclear attack, the idealized space for youthful fun and recreation would recede into a space of survival where the whole family, theo-

retically, could live for weeks. The images that the promotional literature depicted were of people merely extending their ideal family time into another room of their suburban house, yet the emergency family room would have been a space where the family recreated their existence after nuclear attack.

Bomb shelter designers fashioned images that appealed to suburban aesthetics and satisfied potential buyers' desires for comfort, domesticity and prosperity. At the same time, the shelters adhered to specifications of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization. The designers appealed to the dual motives of possible bomb shelter owners. Homeowners wanted to be safe, but they also wanted an aesthetically pleasing environment that looked smart in relationship to the rest of their ranch-style homes. Nielson's design used subdued and natural colors. Designer touches of furnishings "in fabrics of muted tones of red, brown, and gray, and Dunbar walnut furniture and paneling" created an ambience of warmth and suggested an image of nature. The ceiling was painted sky blue, creating the illusion of open space and the outdoors. Food was stored behind revolving walnut doors. Interestingly, a world map covered the doors as a "decorative interest." It seems an odd focal point for a bomb shelter, perhaps serving as a gesture of assurance that the world could have survived a nuclear war. A bicycle was included in the design as well. It served two potential functions; it could be used for exercise and to pump fresh air into the room, though it is uncertain where the fresh air would have come from.

Other designers also masked the function of shelters with suburban aesthetics. Jack Rees, for example, found ways to conceal water, an essential ingredient during an emergency. Rather than storing it in a closet, Rees put the water in colorful bottles displayed on eight shelves for decorative effect. Another designer, Roy Beal, offered a shelter that posed as a library. Beal's design concealed all essential equipment behind panels of walnut to create "a fallout shelter that has all the appearances of a library-study."[27] False book fronts concealed storage space within the room, and on another wall a false book motif on panels hid fold-down beds. Potential shelter owners were presented at once with attractive shelter designs and with a means of coping with the threat of desolation and isolation. The fallout shelter, like the consciousness of the consumer, was to be fully prepared for nuclear attack, yet the consumers' fears and the shelter's provisions were to remain concealed, as if the threat did not exist.

Perhaps one of the most peculiar shelter design features was the frequent use of the television set as the centerpiece of the room. A familiar suburban icon, the television set in the bomb shelter constructed a sense of spaciousness and connection to the outside world, yet a realization of its uselessness in the event of a nuclear attack would not have escaped either the designers or the potential buyers. As a focal point, the TV epitomized the contradictions of

utility and aesthetic desire that the bomb shelter, as we have seen, represented. For in the case of the TV set, the motive of survival was nearly buried and the desire for attractive surroundings and prestige was placed in the center of the room.

While the televisions in the bomb shelter designs were battery generated, it is difficult to imagine a television station broadcasting either emergency news or *I Love Lucy* after a full-blown nuclear attack. Nonetheless, the television occupied as central a place in the shelter as it did in the world above it. In 1960, the television was still a relatively new phenomenon which was redefining the domestic environment and redirecting the gaze within the home. As furniture, the TV set created aesthetic quandaries. Home magazines sought to master it, for "television was no longer a focal point of the room," writes Lynn Spigel, "rather it was a technological eyesore, something which threatened to destabilize the unities of interior decor."[28] So why did interior designers, aware of the desire to conceal the television, include it as a focal point of their fallout shelter design?

A fallout shelter, for practical purposes of protection was essentially a cave, completely isolated from the rest of the house and the rest of the world. At odds with this image of the cave was the ranch-style architecture of the period, which idealized the illusion of space. Home magazines advised readers on tactics that would make the home appear as if it included the public sphere. Landscape paintings and wallpaper rendering nature or exotic vistas encouraged the illusion of space inside the home. Picture windows and sliding glass doors also simulated spaciousness.[29] In order for the fallout shelter to resemble the rest of the home and the images of home that families desired, designers attempted to create a similar illusion of space in the shelter. Obviously, it was impossible to place windows or sliding glass doors in the shelter. By bringing the notion of the outside to the inside, the shelter fostered the illusion of space, and its design conformed to the rest of the house.

In a sense, the bomb shelter designs that included television sets magnified the features of the houses above them. The model shelters mimicked as best they could the aesthetic motifs depicted in the typical ranch-style home, and they pointed to the seclusion fostered by suburban life. Placing the television as the focal point of the fallout shelter conjured not only a possibility of spaciousness, but assured a connection with a larger world that, as Spigel argues, had become one of its central functions in the growth of suburbia. Public life was created in the suburbs by private ownership, and the television set helped generate the illusive connections of community within the walls of the home. "There was an odd sense of connection and disconnection in this new suburbia," Spigel writes, "an infinite series of separate, but identical homes, strung together like Christmas tree lights on a tract with one central switch."[30] That

switch of course was the communications complex, most importantly the television set. Understanding the irony of the functionless bomb shelter television highlights the aesthetic desires and downplays the motive of utility for both designers and potential owners. In addition, the TV set in the bomb shelter serves as a magnified example of the isolation that existed in suburban life.

Conclusion

The discourse of bomb shelter promoters appeared in the face of a potential nuclear nightmare, expressing the disjointed logic of the American Dream that surfaced in the decades of the 1950s and 1960s. The construction of bomb shelters revealed how invested some middle-class Americans had become in a growing suburban lifestyle and how irrational the scene of their dreams had become. The American dream of home ownership became profoundly and paradoxically changed when the bomb shelter was built underneath the home. Dreams of security and prosperity became nightmares of potential loss and devastation. This disparity challenges the myths of postwar suburban utopias, now so pervasive and sentimental at the end of the twentieth century. A rising income, a private house and car were not sufficient ingredients for the good life in the post-war period, argues Loren Baritz. "It was as if the solution, or near-solution, of the economic equation," Baritz writes, "revealed an underlying psychological crisis."[31] The accumulation of material delights, suburbanites discovered, did not solve their problems within the home or outside of it.

The bomb shelter is one material manifestation of that crisis. No matter how nicely designed or how secluded, no one living above a shelter built in anticipation of nuclear devastation dreamt only of good fortune. The owner of a bomb shelter could never forget that without warning the American dream could disappear completely and forever. While the suburban house represented the desire of individualism, the bomb shelter dwelling beneath it represented the irrationality of that dream. Rather than encouraging Americans to collectively confront the nuclear threat, the promoters of the shelters sold the doctrine of commercialized and privatized survival. If a nuclear attack had occurred, the American family in their bomb shelter would have waited out the end of the world in much the same way they lived everyday life, separated from their suburban neighbors. In 1961 President Kennedy encouraged Americans to bury themselves underneath their carefully trimmed suburban shrubs. Thirty-five years later, we may perceive the building of a bomb shelter as an irrational act, but it was rational when framed within the logic of individualism, consumerism and prosperity of the Cold War era.

Most of us have buried the shelter in a graveyard of nostalgia. As the Cold War began to defrost, bomb shelter owners started using them as convenient storage units, wine cellars, dark rooms and storage spaces for the forgotten and

neglected. Around the country Raggedy Ann dolls, transistor radios, hi-fis, *Life* magazines, and bunk beds lie in the darkness of shelters. The bomb shelter preserves and entombs the life style, the status, the dreams of consumption and the self-improvement mindset of the fifties and early sixties. Marguerite Stufflebean and her husband still live above their bomb shelter in suburban Tucson. Stocked with canned water, army cots, emergency food and a Geiger counter, the shelter, a showcase promoting civil defense in the late 1950s, was free, courtesy of the federal government. "Eventually, it ended up being used for storage," Stufflebean said. "It was good for that, free of moisture and even bugs. Lizards seem to like it though."[32]

Protected from the elements, the artifacts remaining inside bomb shelters are nearly perfectly preserved. Tangible evidence of a time that has slipped away, the entombed material culture of the Cold War may someday be discovered by future generations of archaeologists. Like the antiquated merchandise they often store, bomb shelters mass-produced a promise of security and individualism. They promoted a design for a lifestyle in a consumer society that differentiated some from others—drawing lines between people based on economic divisions, and confidently affirming the orders of suburban life. Today, the shelters remain a persistent reminder, now conspicuously viewed with nostalgia and sentimentality, of how Americans sought to preserve a lifestyle that could, and eventually did, slip away. That world was not lost to the bomb, but to the necessarily changing tastes and products of a consumer society.

Endnotes

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Popular Fiction as Propaganda: Cold War Ideology in Ian Fleming's *From Russia, with Love*

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Only a handful of literary protagonists found in popular culture (and specifically in the various genres of popular fiction) have achieved a larger cultural identity that extends beyond the pages of their original print sources. Jerry Siegel's and Joe Shuster's Man of Steel comic book superhero, Superman, is one of these characters, as is Edgar Rice Burroughs' pulp magazine King of the Jungle, Tarzan. Certainly, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's world-famous consulting detective, Sherlock Holmes, must be included in this select group, as must Ian Fleming's intrepid Cold War spy, the dashing and suave James Bond, Agent 007.

Since popular fiction is fundamentally political in nature [1]—if "political" can be defined as the adherence to a particular governmental system regarding the implementation of larger ideological beliefs and values—then James Bond, of all the archetypal heroes in Western popular culture, can be considered as one of the most political of characters. Indeed, regarding the question of Fleming's political intent in writing the James Bond adventures, noted author and critic Anthony Burgess suggests "There was a patriotic motive hiding behind Fleming's primary desire, which was to entertain." [2] And, with but a few exceptions, [3] whatever the political motivations that lurked behind Fleming's efforts, readers and critics alike were greatly enamored of the James Bond adventures. Burgess himself claims that Bond "has the stuff of immortality in him," [4] while Umberto Eco legitimizes Fleming's work by devoting a lengthy scholarly essay, "The Narrative Structure in Fleming," to a close, structural analysis of the Bond adventures. [5] Kingsley Amis wrote an entire book-length study on the James Bond phenomenon entitled *The James Bond Dossier*, which, Amis informs his readers, began as a modest five thousand-word article. It blossomed into an extensive monograph when Amis discovered the deceptive complexity of Fleming's writing. Amis states in his Preface:

> Part of my motive for writing about them [the Bond adventures] was my conviction . . . that they were more than simple cloak-and -dagger stories with a bit of fashionable affluence and

> sex thrown in. I suspected that, on the contrary, I would find them to be just as complex and to have just as much in them as more ambitious kinds of fiction. I was right. [6]

This essay, then, seeks to examine more closely one of Ian Fleming's James Bond novels, *From Russia, with Love* (1957), in an attempt to investigate how the spy story served as effective political propaganda during the Cold War era in Great Britain and the United States. This essay will also offer several definitions of the spy story and discuss the social-psychological function of spy fiction, as well as provide a specific analysis of the various thematic elements in *From Russia, with Love* that identify the novel as a work of obvious political intent. Finally, it will be suggested that there exist several powerful, specific narrative schemes in *From Russia, with Love* that shape the ubiquitous and archetypal "good" versus "evil" story into an emotionally compelling and culturally dynamic example of popular culture propaganda.

Without a doubt, Ian Fleming's James Bond novels were among the most popular and influential spy stories to appear in America and Great Britain during the Cold War period.[7] But what exactly constitutes a "spy story"? The editors of the reference book *Spy Fiction: A Connoisseur's Guide* argue that the spy story is a difficult genre to define, largely "because it is so flexible—it can incorporate elements from the adventure novel, the romance and the detective story: it may even include them all."[8] Editors McCormick and Fletcher go on to state that the spy story "dramatizes events," offering the reader a highly introspective fiction which examines how different people confront different types of conflict.[9] Conversely, John G. Cawelti and Bruce A. Rosenberg, in their monograph *The Spy Story*, see a considerably more narrowed definition of the genre. "We are . . . less interested in the idea of the 'thriller,'" state Cawelti and Rosenburg, "than in the more specific notion of the spy story, which we define as a story whose protagonist has some primary connection with espionage."[10] Cawelti and Rosenburg claim that the twentieth century is the "Age of Clandestinity," and that spy fiction is a type of literary response to, or narrative symptom of, the collective paranoia embraced by a society that requires clandestine acts to preserve its national security. They also claim that the spy hero, such as Ian Fleming's James Bond, is "one of our [society's] favorite mythical heroes."[11]

The most popular writer of spy-fiction-as-propaganda during the early years of the Cold War was James Bond's creator, Ian Fleming. Fleming's experience in British military intelligence work during World War II provided him with essential background material for his James Bond adventures, as well as solidifying his political views. As Fleming's biographer, John Pearson, states in his *The Life of Ian Fleming*, "Everyone agrees that Fleming rapidly developed

a surprising feeling for the Navy. The oddly persuasive trappings of the Admiralty intensified that same pre-1914 brand of now unfashionable patriotism which he passed on to James Bond." [12] Following the war, Fleming became the manager of the Kemsley newspapers' foreign news office. Anthony Burgess believes that Fleming's skills as a professional journalist served him well when he began writing fiction:

> It is important to remember that, like Daniel Defoe, he [Fleming] was a journalist before he was a writer of fiction, and a good journalist too. The clarity of his style in the novels proclaims this, the apt image, the eye for detail, the interest in world affairs on the one hand and, on the other, the fascination with the minutiae of everyday life. Because he is a best-seller, it is easy to forget that Fleming is a distinguished writer of English prose. [13]

Fleming's first novel, *Casino Royale*, published in 1954, also featured the first appearance of James Bond. Fleming would go on to write eleven more Bond novels and two collections of Bond short stories. Regarding the influence that Fleming's work had on the society that read his stories, critic Ann S. Boyd states in her monograph, *The Devil with James Bond!*:

> Regardless of what anyone says now and whatever significance people might consider the Bond phenomenon to have a century from now, there can be little doubt concerning the impact it made when it struck the cultural mainland with full-fledged hurricane force in the 1960s. The ubiquitous symbol of secret agent 007 was found everywhere—from bread and bubblegum to men's fashions and toiletries, from parlor games to children's dolls and paper dolls, from his own image to that of imitations in books, films, and television series. [14]

Fleming, however, did not begin his literary career as a best-selling writer of spy fiction. The sales of his first five Bond novels—*Casino Royale*, *Live and Let Die* (1954), *Moonraker* (1955), *Diamonds Are Forever* (1956), and *From Russia, with Love* (1957)—were moderate at best, and at one point, as did Sir Arthur Conan Doyle with Sherlock Holmes, Fleming considered terminating Bond's literary career (at the conclusion of the fifth novel, *From Russia, with Love*, the reader is unsure if Bond will live or die). But Fleming did continue writing and publishing Bond adventures, resurrecting the intrepid British spy from near death in the sixth Bond novel, *Doctor No* (1958). Following the growing commercial success of both *From Russia, with Love* and *Doctor No*, Fleming went on to publish *Goldfinger* (1959), *Thunderball* (1961), *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1962), *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1963), *You Only Live*

Twice (1964), and *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1965), as well as the collection *For Your Eyes Only* (1960). Each newly released book gained greater popularity with a Cold War readership and elevated Fleming to the national and international best-seller lists. The collection *Octopussy and The Living Daylights* (1966) was released posthumously following Fleming's death in 1964. In retrospect, James Bond dominated Ian Fleming's writing. Outside of the Bond canon, he published just one thriller, *The Diamond Smugglers* (1957), and a children's book, *Chitty-Chitty-Bang-Bang* (1964-65), as well as two nonfiction works, *Thrilling Cities* (1963) and (posthumously) *Ian Fleming Introduces Jamaica* (1965).

In their book *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero,* Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott support the argument that James Bond was a political hero for the middle class. They claim the novel that transformed Bond "from a character within a set of fictional texts into a household name" was *From Russia, with Love*, when it was serialized in the *Daily Express*. [15] As Bennett and Woollacott state,

> Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the network of cultural and ideological concerns Bond served to condense and articulate in the late 1950s centered most closely on the relations between East and West, relations which had become particularly tense as a consequence of Russia's invasion of Hungary in 1956. Bond, that is to say, functioned first and foremost, although not exclusively, as a Cold War hero, an exemplary representative of the virtues of Western capitalism triumphing over the evils of Eastern communism. [16]

Bennett's and Woollacott's point is reinforced by the fact that one of Fleming's most famous fans was John F. Kennedy, [17] who, as President of the United States, was the most important leader of the Free World during the Cold War period. Though it can perhaps be debated whether Fleming's James Bond adventures are "intentional propaganda," [18] what cannot be debated is the fact that these spy stories are effective propaganda. Indeed, of all the Bond novels, *From Russia, with Love* offers the most obvious example of how Fleming used the spy story to create a type of Cold War-era literature of propaganda.

What Fleming did in *From Russia, with Love* that made it so powerful as propaganda was to place the fantastic, larger-than-life pulp elements of the story in a realistic frame. Fleming announces to his reader in an Author's Note at the beginning of the novel that the Soviet organization called SMERSH (which, Fleming notes, is a contraction for *Smiert Spionam*, or "Death to Spies") was a real agency. Fleming then offers detailed statistics regarding the operational strength of SMERSH in 1956 (when the novel was written), as well as a statement that the setting in the novel for the infamous meeting of spies in

Moscow is accurate. Fleming goes on to claim that many of the top Soviet officials at this meeting also exist. But, if we take Fleming's word regarding these professed statements of accuracy, he nevertheless interjects into his "authentic" portrayal of Soviet espionage an aggregation of wonderfully pulp-like villains and plot devices. For example, he places the action of the later portion of the novel on the Orient Express, a favorite setting for writers of thrillers.

The plot of *From Russia, with Love* is a rather simple one. The Soviets want a public relations victory over British Intelligence. They select James Bond, who has been a troublesome thorn in their sides in the past, as their target. They plan to entice Bond to help a beautiful Russian woman to defect with a top secret decipher machine, and then to photograph Bond secretly as he makes love to the woman. Their scheme concludes with Bond's murder at the hands of SMERSH's top assassin.

During the meeting in which the heads of the various departments of the Soviet espionage bureaucracy devise the strategy for Bond's humiliation and death, the reader is informed that what is hoped for in this "konspiratsia" is an attack against the British Intelligence's overweening sense of morality. As Lieutenant-General Vozdvishensky, a representative of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, tells his colleagues at the meeting table: "these men and women [of British Intelligence] continue to do this dangerous work [with little reward.] It is curious. It is perhaps the Public School and University tradition. The love of adventure . . . Of course, most of their strength lies in the myth—the myth of Scotland Yard, of Sherlock Holmes, of the Secret Service." [19] In this speech, not only does Fleming pat himself on the back (since he was a former operative in British Intelligence), but he also articulates what, specifically, the British offer the Western world—a heritage of justice and law. This heritage, or myth as Vozdvishensky terms it, is what the Soviets wish to destroy along with Bond, the agent of justice. Fleming thus polarizes his political novel along a moral spectrum of "good" and "evil," in the process creating a literature of propaganda. Standing in opposition to law and justice (British Intelligence) are the agents of cruelty, torture, and political chaos (Soviet Intelligence).

Perhaps no other passage in the novel better summarizes Fleming's attempt to portray the evilness of the Soviet State than the following. In Chapter 3, the Head of Personnel of the Soviet M.G.B. expresses these thoughts:

> A great deal of killing has to be done in the U.S.S.R., not because the average Russian is a cruel man, although some of their races are among the cruelest peoples in the world, but as an instrument of policy. People who act against the State are enemies of the State, and the State has no room for enemies. There is too much to do for precious time to be allotted to them, and, if they are a

> persistent nuisance, they get killed. In a country with a population of 200,000,000, you can kill many thousands a year without missing them. If, as happened in the two biggest purges, a million people have to be killed in one year, this is also not a grave loss. [20]

Fleming intends the monstrous brutality of this character's logic to reflect Western society's fear of Stalinist Russia. Fleming wants his reader to feel a strong sense of revulsion for the M.G.B. officer's attitude, which, his readers understand, is so alien to British and American sensitivities.

In Chapter 24 of *From Russia, with Love*, Bond is traveling on the Orient Express and escorting the beautiful female Russian agent who (he believes) is defecting to the West with a much prized Spektor deciphering machine. As the train comes to a halt between lines of rusting locomotives captured from the Germans during World War II, Bond views the wreckage, thinking "nostalgically and unreasonably of the excitement and turmoil of the hot war, compared with his own underground skirmishings since the war had turned cold." [21] James Bond, as this scene indicates, is a Cold Warrior who longs for the days of the Hot War. What Bond's creator attempts to accomplish in his spy fiction is to reestablish in the postwar world the moral contrasts that were so readily evident during World War II.

In *From Russia, with Love,* Fleming depicts the Cold War between the Western Democracies (especially British Democracy) and Eastern Communism (especially Soviet Communism) in overtly propagandistic terms. Fleming, in fact, devised an elaborate metaphor in the novel that exemplifies the evil Soviet empire. This metaphor was structured around the novel's three principal antagonists: Red Grant, SMERSH's chief assassin; Rosa Klebb, Head of Otdyel II (which is SMERSH's Department of Operations and Executions); and the Russian chess master, Kronsteen. These three villains—Grant, Klebb, and Kronsteen—are intended by Fleming to symbolize the corrupt "body" of the Soviet political state.

Donovan "Red" Grant represents the physical body itself. He is described as the novel opens as looking like a dead man, an apt image since he is a top-ranking Soviet assassin who possesses no sense of moral conscience. Despite the magnificent appearance of his "splendid body," his masseuse experiences feelings of "revulsion" when she is in his presence. The reader is told that there is cruelty in his face, a "blankness that veiled the very pale blue eyes . . . and made it look drowned and morgue-like." [22] Grant, who was born from a "midnight union between a German professional weight-lifter and a Southern Irish waitress" (Fleming's British readers would have perceived these two ethnicities negatively), decides to defect while serving in Berlin with the British army. Fleming writes: "He [Grant] liked all he heard about the Russians, their brutal-

ity, their carelessness of human life, and their guile, and he decided to go over to them." [23] When he first introduces himself to a Soviet M.G.B. colonel, Grant proclaims that he is an expert at killing people, that he enjoys killing. Afterwards, in a sort of reverse rags-to-riches story, Red Grant proves himself as a master assassin, becoming a top operative in SMERSH. Fleming intends Grant to be a "reverse" James Bond, a spy who has no morality whatsoever and who possesses no sense of style or grace. He is merely an effective butcher, emblematic of the brutal Communist state that employs him.

Rosa Klebb represents the degenerate Soviet soul. When the reader is introduced to Klebb, she is described as looking "toad-like." The reason she is in charge of Otdyel II is soon made obvious by Fleming. Just as Red Grant enjoys killing, Rosa Klebb enjoys torturing people. Fleming writes:

> It was said that Rosa Klebb would let no torturing take place without her. There was a blood-splattered smock in her office, and a low camp-stool, and they said that when she was seen scurrying through the basement passages dressed in the smock and with the stool in her hand, the word would go round, and even the workers in SMERSH would hush their words and bend low over their papers—perhaps even cross their fingers in their pockets—until she was reported back in her room. [24]

Fleming's inference in this passage is that Klebb is a monster who, like Dracula, inspires a supernatural dread in others. Klebb, the reader is told, is a freak of Nature, a sexual "neuter" who displaces her sensual urges by torturing others. When the beautiful Corporal Tatiana Romanova is recruited by Klebb to be the bait to entrap James Bond, Klebb informs the young woman that she must do what she is told, that she must prostitute herself to the British spy. "Your body belongs to the State," Klebb proclaims. "Since your birth, the State has nourished it. Now your body must work for the State." [25] After Klebb manipulates Tatiana's sense of obligation to her government by talking to her of patriotism and duty to her country, the Head of Odytel II, in a horribly comic scene, attempts to physically seduce the naïve Tatiana (Klebb "looked like the oldest and ugliest whore in the world" in her semi-transparent nightgown, Fleming writes), who subsequently flees for her life. Fleming's political message is clear. All that is beautiful in Russia is victimized by Soviet Communism. The common person, as seen in Tatiana, is made to do hideous and awful things in the name of the State.

The third Communist villain in *From Russia, with Love* is Kronsteen, who represents the cold Soviet brain. Kronsteen is a brilliant strategist, a chess master who offers his considerable talents to his Soviet overlords. His assignment in the novel is to plan the operation that will both humiliate and destroy James

Bond, and ultimately embarrass the British Intelligence community. Consistent with Fleming's hostile view of Soviet Communism, Kronsteen's selection by his superiors is an apt one, since Kronsteen is totally devoid of human emotion. Fleming writes: "Kronsteen was not interested in human beings—not even in his own children. Nor did the categories of 'good' and 'bad' have a place in his vocabulary. To him all people were chess pieces. He was only interested in their reactions to the movements of other pieces." [26]

Fleming sets James Bond, the hero of Western Democracy, as a foil or a contrast to this vile Communist triumvirate. Like Grant, Bond, too, is called upon to kill in the name of his government, but, unlike Grant, he does not enjoy killing. Bond also possesses something that Grant will never have, the qualities of an English gentleman. Toward the end of the novel, when Bond is escorting Tatiana on the Orient Express, he is joined by Grant, who is impersonating a fellow British operative named Norman Nash (Thinking the name to be a strange one, Tatiana informs Bond that Nash means "ours" in Russian). Bond views Grant/Nash as being somewhat boorish. Grant, in fact, lacks the style and grace of Bond, the public school gentleman. By inference, the Soviet government, Grant's employer, also lacks style and grace, especially in the espionage game. Grant's boss, Rosa Klebb, is sexually conflicted. The only passion she enjoys in life is the torture and death of others. Bond, conversely, is more of a lover than a killer. His sexual affair with Tatiana is a healthy one, and is only perverted when Tatiana's Soviet masters attempt to make it so. "There is not much fun and gaiety in Russia," Tatiana says to Bond, and so when Bond (the gentlemanly hedonist who embraces the finer things in life) becomes sexually and emotionally involved with her, Tatiana subsequently forsakes her Soviet lifestyle and becomes the happiest she has ever been. And, at the conclusion of the novel, when Bond kills Grant and defeats Kronsteen's elaborate scheme, he demonstrates that intellect without human emotion (i.e. Soviet intellectualism) is wasted intellect.

Therefore if, as Bennett and Woollacott suggest *In Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero*, it can be argued that James Bond was a symbol of the Cold War era representing Western-style Democracy in conflict with Eastern-style Communism, what were the specific qualities that Bond embodied? First and foremost, Bond is a British Public School hero. As Anthony Burgess suggests, "In Bond there is a powerful vein of puritanism and a capacity for self-disgust which denies the amorality of his murderous calling and its sensual compensations." [27] Bond also is a character who possesses normal human emotions and a capacity to love. His counterparts in *From Russia, with Love*—Grant, Klebb, and Kronsteen—are emotional misfits and sociopathic fiends. Finally, Bond is really not unlike the average person. Though he

does possess a refined taste for wine, women, and song, his normality is often contrasted with an assortment of grotesque villains (right out of Dick Tracy or Batman) who revel in bizarre and inhumane excess and who attempt to destroy humanity. Fleming's point in *From Russia, with Love* is quite clear, his message an overtly political one. His treatment of the traditional literary archetypes of "good" and "evil" in the spy story resounds with a propagandistic motive that helped to fan the hot flames of a cold war.

Indeed, as illustrated in the above discussion, James Bond functioned in Ian Fleming's popular spy fiction as a larger-than-life political hero who embodied the perceived virtues of Western democracies. The spy story (as refined by Fleming) offered its readers ideological support for the Western (read: non-Communist, non-Soviet) political worldview. An ideology is a belief system typically held by a group of people because of specific components that reflect that group's interests. [28] The romanticized spy, such as James Bond, as a personification of the virtues of post-World War II democracy, often represented during the Cold War period ideological victories at the expense of the "wicked" and "evil" Soviet Communists, hence legitimizing for readers the moral superiority of the former and the chaotically destructive nature of the latter. And by having a protagonist such as James Bond always emerge victorious, the spy story, as a powerful and effective form of propaganda, proclaimed to its Cold War-era readers that "good" will always triumph over "evil," Democracy will always triumph over Communism.

Notes

[1] In *American Fiction in the Cold War* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), Thomas Hill Schaub surveys the critical interpretation of the novel in his second chapter, "The Politics of Realism: Novelistic Discourse in the Postwar Period." Schaub traces the development of the various "schools" of social and cultural analysis of fiction that became fashionable with literary critics following World War II. Schaub notes that many of these critics viewed the production and reception of fiction in a political context. He writes in a footnote to this chapter:

In *Political Man* (1960), Seymour Lipset wrote, "Since domestic politics can no longer serve as the arena for serious criticism from the left, many intellectuals have turned from a basic concern with the political and economic systems to criticism of other sections of the basic culture of American society" (quoted in Pells *Liberal Mind* 185). For the literary intellectual, the "novel" was one of these other sections (29).

[2] Anthony Burgess, "The James Bond Novels: An Introduction," in Ian Fleming, *From Russia, with Love* (Chivers Press, 1988), x. This brief yet informative essay nicely encapsulates the reasons behind James Bond's popularity with readers.

[3] LeRoy L. Panek, for example, in his book, *The Special Branch: The British Spy Novel, 1890-1980* (BGSU Popular Press, 1981), calls Ian Fleming a "minor writer"

who "possessed only meager talents as a maker of plots" and who "fails to render more than cartoon reality in his characters" (p. 201).

[4] Burgess, vii.

[5] Umberto Eco's essay, "The Narrative Structure in Fleming," is published in an English translation in the anthology, *The Bond Affair*, eds. Oreste Del Buono and Umberto Eco (Macdonald, 1966).

[6] Kingsley Amis, *The James Bond Dossier (*Jonathan Cape, 1965), 9.

[7] Biographer Andrew Lycett states in *Ian Fleming: The Man Behind James Bond* (Turner Publishing, 1995) that before Fleming's death in 1964, he had sold some 30 million copies of his books (which were primarily his James Bond novels), and that in less than two years following his death, sales of his books had more than doubled. In 1965 alone, Lycett reports, 27 million copies of Fleming's novels were sold in eighteen languages (p. 446). These impressive statistics rank Ian Fleming as the most popular writer of spy fiction in the 1960s.

[8] Donald McCormick and Katy Fletcher, *Spy Fiction: A Connoisseur's Guide* (Facts on File, 1990), 8.

[9] Ibid., 2.

[10] John G. Cawelti and Bruce A. Rosenburg, *The Spy Story* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), 5. John Cawelti is regarded by many scholars of popular culture as being the originator of the academic study of popular fiction. His book, *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture* (1976), remains a definitive study of the field.

[11] Ibid., 2.

[12] John Pearson, *The Life of Ian Fleming* (Jonathan Cape, 1966), 96.

[13] Burgess, viii.

[14] Ann S. Boyd, *The Devil with James Bond!* (John Knox Press, 1967), 26.

[15] Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott, *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* (Macmillan Education, 1987), 24.

[16] Ibid., 25.

[17] Pearson, 321-323.

[18] In *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* (Henry Holt, 1935) Leonard W. Doob defines the term "intentional propaganda" as "a systematic attempt by an interested individual (or individuals) to control the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion and, consequently, to control their actions." (75-76).

[19] Ian Fleming, *From Russia, with Love* (Signet, 1964), 35.

[20] Ibid., 21-22.

[21] Ibid., 162.

[22] Ibid., 11.

[23] Ibid., 17

[24] Ibid., 57.

[25] Ibid., 64.

[26] Ibid., 49

[27] Burgess, vii.

[28] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Anchor Books, 1966), 124.

AMERIKA, The Miniseries: Televison's Last Cold War Gasp

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When did the "hard-freeze" Cold War end? Every historian and political scientist has a patented answer. Some say when President John Kennedy opened the door to a kinder, gentler Cold War in his 1960 inaugural address ("Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate"). Others say in 1964, when Stanley Kubrick filmed his darkly satiric Cold War spoof, *Dr. Strangelove* ("You gentlemen can't fight in here. This is the War Room"). Still others argue that the Cold War melted when American youth rebelled against the Vietnam conflict in the mid-1960s. Vietnam protests occurred at the same time that many communist youth in Eastern Europe were vomiting on their diet of Cold War rhetoric and began lusting for Levi jeans and hard rock music.[1]

I cannot decide when the Cold War softened, but I do know when it temporarily froze network television. It was Sunday evening, February 15, 1987, when ABC launched its fourteen-hour miniseries, *Amerika*. The television competition rather gave up. Neither NBC nor CBS made an effort to challenge *Amerika* with innovative programs. They either ignored *Amerika* or criticized it. For example, in preview ads which promoted its Sunday Night Movie, *The Facts of Life Down Under*, NBC suggested that *Amerika* was too dark and depressing for the average American television viewer. The rest of the first week *Amerika* ran against average film fare, such as *Police Academy*, *Bachelor Party*, *Swamp Thing*, *Barbarella* and *Bloody Mama*. Its only real network competition was the Miss USA Pageant.[2] The Pageant was anything but dark and depressing, yet it hardly stretched minds or imaginations. *Amerika* exercised both.

Amerika was a bold, exciting venture for television. And although *Amerika* often failed in execution, ABC should get credit for taking a commercial and ideological gamble. *Amerika* merged science fiction, history and world politics. The result was a genre too far. It never bridged the gap between those categories. As science fiction, it was too historical. As history, it was too far out and stretched credulity. As world politics, it was ill-timed. Just as the Soviet Union was falling apart at home and abroad, *Amerika* gave the Soviets the Cold War victory.[3]

On one level *Amerika*'s plot was too simplistic. Like Edward Bellamy's 1888 political science fiction novel *Looking Backward*, *Amerika* whisks us into an improbable future, without really explaining how America got from here to there. Bellamy moved the reader from 1888 to a supposedly utopian socialist America in the year 2000. *Amerika* takes us only to the late 1980s, when a politically and economically troubled Soviet Union suddenly attacks and conquers the United States in a wild gamble to solve the many Soviet woes. It succeeds with a high altitude nuclear attack that kills nobody, but disables American computer and communication systems. American missiles lay useless in their silos because there are no computers to fire or aim them. American armies stand helpless because there are no communication systems to order and direct their movements. Perhaps this far-fetched scenario is somewhat more credible as we approach the new millennium, amid the current Y2K computer hysteria.

A film prologue quickly gives viewers a short history of the Soviet conquest and then *Amerika*'s central story begins. The film focuses on America under Soviet occupation. More specifically it shows various American responses to Soviet attempts to make America a model Marxist state for world contemplation. The plot centers on three men—Devin Milford, Peter Bradford and Andrei Denisov—each of whom fights for his vision of the New America. Milford, once an American presidential candidate, defies the regime as a renegade political leader and becomes a symbol of resistance. Bradford is a capable pragmatist, honestly devoted to compromising with the new political conditions. Denisov, an ex-KGB colonel, is the most interesting and complicated character. He learns to love America for unique traits that Americans themselves had taken for granted. *Amerika* is a political film that vaguely tells us about the American spirit. Its ironies are always more interesting than its messages or plot.[4]

Red Dawn, a 1984 theater-released film, had a similar scenario of Soviet conquest, but it was clearly camp and not to be taken seriously. Indeed, producers probably visualized *Amerika* as the intelligent viewer's *Red Dawn*. There were some obvious differences between the two films, besides *Amerika*'s additional twelve hours. *Red Dawn* wasted a rather famous cast which included Ben Johnson, Harry Dean Stanton and Powers Booth. Moreover, three of its younger stars—Patrick Swayze, Charlie Sheen and Jennifer Grey— were immature actors, not close to their later peaks. *Red Dawn*'s director, John Milius, played the Soviet invasion and control of part of the United States much too heavily. Not only did his characters (both heroes and villains) lack subtlety, but he constantly relied on violence to keep the plot moving.

In contrast *Amerika* had no really big stars, but effectively used some competent actors, such as Sam Neill, Chrtistine Lahti, Robert Urich, Mariel

Hemingway and Cindy Pickett. Unfortunately, it also miscast and misdirected Kris Kristofferson. Director Donald Wrye, whose previous television films were *Death Be Not Proud* and *Born Innocent* (both small-set dramas), wisely de-emphasized firepower and stressed ideas and images in portraying the Soviet takeover. His characters often have long exchanges and even sex takes a back seat. Several scenes are impossibly long by Hollywood (let alone television) standards. The film spends a lot of time observing the faces of ordinary Americans under occupation. Logically enough, it spends more time looking at the film's hero, Devin Milford (Kris Kristofferson), than anyone. Kristofferson is the biggest disappointment. He generally had played laid-back characters (often with distinction) in his past films, but his acting is lackadaisical here and he mumbles a lot. Luckily he has fewer lines per scene than the other better-cast actors.[5]

Amerika obviously plays loosely with history, but current history constantly intruded on both its production and viewing. Some critics suggested that *Amerika* was atonement for ABC's grim nuclear disaster film, *The Day After*, broadcast in 1983. Supposedly TV critic Ben Stein suggested in his column that ABC should make a film about an America under Soviet domination to balance the liberal bias displayed in *The Day After*. In any event Brandon Stoddard, the head of ABC movie production, hired Wrye to work up an occupation premise. At first, it was projected as a three-hour television movie. But Wrye's screenplay grew to over 1300 pages, before being pared to about 600, which became the basis for the fourteen-hour film.

Perhaps *Amerika*'s eeriest aspect was its merging of past and future American military failure and success in Vietnam and Iraq. Defeating America by crippling its communication networks was not just science fiction. The United States would quickly defeat Iraq and Saddam Hussein just three years later with basically the same strategy, but minus the nuclear weapons. Earlier the Vietnam War had proved how important communication networks were. American planes in Vietnam were not as successful as those in the Korean War, despite their greater technical superiority. In Vietnam the planes depended on sophisticated computer networks, so complicated that they often did not work under actual battle conditions. Unlike Iraq, neither Vietnam nor Afghanistan depended on communication networks and were thus less vulnerable to air power than America or the Soviets.

The fictional Soviet atomic blasts in *Amerika* supposedly caused no casualties or radioactive fallout. However, the actual miniseries caused political fallout on all sides, in some cases before its airing. The Soviet Union predictably attacked the film as Red-bashing, while American conservatives later complained that the Soviet occupation was not portrayed harshly enough. Some liberals charged that *Amerika* vastly oversimplified the Cold War by making

the Soviets formulaic villains and the Americans classic heroes and thus constituted warmongering. The United Nations complained about the film's image of United Nations peacekeepers as irrelevant and ineffective.[6]

The international and ideological bickering made sponsors nervous. For example, just two weeks before airing, Chrysler Corporation Chairman Lee Iacocca pulled all thirty-six of Chrysler's planned thirty-second commercials from *Amerika* time slots. Chrysler's official statement explained that their automobile ads with the upbeat theme "born in America" would be "both inappropriate and of diminished effectiveness," given *Amerika*'s grim content. Although giant General Foods Corporation and Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company kept their heavy ad commitments, ABC was forced to cut its original $175,000 fee for a thirty-second spot.[7]

ABC's commercial troubles highlighted the chief difference between theatrical and television films. Television fare had to approximate the mood and morality of middle America, because that's who the sponsors aimed for. Theater films later shown on television could be edited. Television films must be edited in advance to please sponsors. Chrysler had been showcasing their Jeeps in ads to stress their patriotism, since Jeeps were a vivid symbol of America's most popular war—World War II. The veiled suggestion was that Americans should be patriotic too and buy American cars. When Chrysler saw that *Amerika* suggested that even with modern Jeeps, America had been defeated, the auto company drove off. Yet one television sponsor's poison is another sponsor's meat. General Foods probably thought the scarcity so evident in *Amerika* helped viewers appreciate its products. Northwest Mutual Insurance surely liked the suggestion that it was an uncertain world where anything could happen. It all harkened back to television's youth, when tobacco companies could insist that characters in dramatic shows smoke, but never cough, on screen. In those days General Motors could supposedly insist that the phrase "fording a stream" be stricken from a Western sitcom that the company sponsored.[8]

Of course ABC might have been trying to please the Reagan Administration, rather than sponsors. The network could have been making amends to a popular conservative President in a new age of nationalism. For as media critic Daniel Hallin observed, in 1986 Reaganism's effect on television was not so much an ideological conservatism as a new-style jingoism. Reagan made popular a "We're Number One" nationalism that encouraged news networks to shift away from political partisanship toward patriotic celebration. Television balanced its liberal image by taking part in that celebration. It largely adopted the Reagan theme: "America Is Back."[9]

At first glance, showing an America under the thumb of the Soviet Union does not fit in with Reagan's "we're back and we're number one" boasting. Yet, as science fiction *Amerika* could serve as the other side of Reagan's new

patriotism campaign. Between the lines, one can see the *Amerika* scenario as a possible disaster outcome, if not for America's new vigilance and resolve under Reagan (and his plan for a Star Wars shield above us). *Amerika* created a fictional evil empire and gave it the mythical power that President Reagan never could. The weaker the Soviets became, the more evil the cold warriors had to make them seem in order to justify America's huge defense budgets. Indeed, the Soviet Union's recent weakness did the most damage to *Amerika*'s credibility. Who could believe the Soviets could control America when they recently had been pushed out of little Afghanistan?

Thus, *Amerika* did provide a backdoor rationale and justification for Reagan's Cold War policies and rhetoric. Yet, even if *Amerika* was produced as a network peace offering to President Reagan, on another level it contained educative Cold War ironies and contradictions. It even highlights classic American contradictions. And if *Amerika*'s production was weak, its bold plot reminded one of Ira Levin's best fantasies,such as *The Stepford Wives* (about robotic suburban soccer moms) and *The Boys From Brazil* (about teenage American Hitler clones).[10]

Advance complaints from the Left suggested that *Amerika* lay halfway between *Red Dawn* and *Rambo*. But *Amerika* really played about halfway between George Orwell's *1984* and *Little Town on the Prairie*. The little town in *Amerika* was Milford, Nebraska. Milford was a typical microcosm, much favored by American novelists and cinematographers. In its uncomplicated milieu, one could isolate moral issues. Milford reminds one of the Texas town in Larry McMurtry's *The Last Picture Show*—only Milford is featured as the last American town.

Clearly *Amerika* is allegorical and not really about Soviet occupation. There is amazingly little to reinforce negative Russian stereotypes. The evil Major Gurtman is German, while his soldiers, with their tinted face shields, look more like imperial troops of the *Star Wars* empire. Sam Neill, who plays the Machiavellian Russian strategist Colonel Denisov, comes across more as an American playboy than a Soviet bureaucrat. His character suggests that Orwell's Big Brother isn't watching, he's too busy scrambling for personal position and advantage. Besides, he looks disturbingly like the ABC newsman Sam Donaldson.

Moreover, Denisov is positively emotional compared to the American hero, Devin Milford. Actor Kris Kristofferson delivers most of Devin's lines with all the emotion of a toll booth attendant. Yet Kristofferson remains strangely heroic. He often comes across as a laconic Gary Cooper cowboy hero — miraculously brought from the nineteenth-century American West to modern-day Milford. Denisov believes that if he can only understand Devin, he can understand America. Similarly, to comprehend *Amerika* each viewer must analyze

Devin and decide what he represents. But obviously liberals, conservatives, radicals, and moderates will see him differently.

Devin Milford probably warmed the hearts of the Left far more than the Right. It's not just his bearded scruffy look, so reminiscent of 1960s agitators. He actually chants like Abbie Hoffman and dreams like Martin Luther King. Radical 1960s slogans such as "Power to the People," "Right On," and "Shut It Down," never actually spring from Devin's lips, but they seem always on the tip of his tongue. The actions Devin inspires should have shaken up conservatives even more. The armed American rebels hit and run like the Viet Cong. And the underground resisters who help Kristofferson are disproportionately minority groups—especially black Americans—who symbolically move Devin around on an "underground railroad." Even in the conservative small town of Milford, the residents protest and defy authority like seasoned sixties demonstrators.

By contrast, the "Amerikan" bureaucrat Peter Bradford (Robert Urich), who works through the system, comes across as a crass politician and organization man. His compromises eventually even alienate his wife (Cindy Pickett) and most of Milford. Compared to Devin's simple, radical views, Bradford's tortuous rationales make him a timid pawn of the town rather than a courageous prince of the country. Bradford and other pedestrian collaborators constantly ask people to be realistic and accept history's verdict on the American-Soviet struggle.

The story development is so slow, the cinematography so uninspiring and the acting so uneven, that it is hard to take *Amerika* seriously as cinematic art. It offers more as Cold War mythology and as an ideological focus. Indeed ABC probably realized early on that it had a turkey on its hands, and thus tried to build an audience with hype. Perhaps ABC promoters reasoned that if they could goad the Soviets into attacking *Amerika* as warmongering and induce the American Left to knock the film as a right-wing nightmare, middle America would be all eyes and ears.

The subtle ironies prove to be the most entertaining aspect of *Amerika*. For example, if conservatives could not identify with Kristofferson, at least some aspects of "Amerikan" society should have pleased them. There was little crime, no teenage cruising, no punk rock music, and no welfare scandals. Also, presumably the trains and planes ran on time.

Yet, poor exiled squatters living outside Milford remained despised and ignored until Soviet mercenaries overreacted and wiped out their shanty town. Only then did Milford residents quickly befriend these outcasts and identify with them. These actions teach both the Soviets and the television audience that only Americans are allowed to mistreat poor Americans. Indeed 1980s *Amerika* looked eerily like 1930s Depression America. One constantly expected

to see the Waltons in the next scene. Poverty-stricken contemporary Americans may infer that if they can only get some dictator to oppress them, their affluent countrymen will spring to their aid. This phenomenon had a long Cold War history. Americans did not seem to care much about Koreans, Cubans, or the Vietnamese until the "Communists" started threatening them.

In one sense, *Amerika* spoke to the fears of both the American Right and Left. Pessimists on both sides of the spectrum fear a dictatorial takeover by extremists of the opposite ideological camp. Both Left and Right often fear that a totalitarian government could take power and an apathetic American people would just go on watching television—perhaps even a fourteen-hour miniseries on the overthrow of the government.

Amerika does tell us that it is heroic to resist arbitrary power. More importantly, both history and *Amerika* show that people apparently without power can create it by joining together to challenge a corrupt government. This is *Amerika*'s real lesson and why activists such as Ralph Nader probably would have enjoyed this film more than politicians, Right or Left. *Amerika* shows us general inhumanity, but tells us little about the Soviets. However, it does enlighten us indirectly about the Cold War and American apathy. The villain here is the crude and unfeeling bureaucratic state. It has no real national flag. As a warning, *Amerika* tells Americans what Pogo told us: "We have met the enemy and they is us." That is clearly a message beyond Left and Right.

For all the pre-show hype, *Amerika* was a ratings disaster, even while running against generally weak competition. *Amerika* opened on Sunday night with a 34 share, but its ratings declined throughout its run. On the third night, "The Miss USA Pageant" solidly trounced it, head to head, with a 34 share to *Amerika*'s 26.[11] It is hard to pinpoint why *Amerika* failed to attract a larger audience. Many even less artistic miniseries did much better. Indeed, most successful miniseries have been syrupy romance novels or gory, true-crime murder cases. Yet, *Roots* and later *War and Rembrance* proved that Americans would watch very long, serious miniseries with an historical focus—especially if they were well-acted. Neither of the latter, however, risked the political minefields, nor took the fanciful flight of *Amerika*.

Amerika with all its flaws remains a model for television boldness. Who knows what Oliver Stone (or a right-wing counterpart) could do with a television miniseries, if given the chance. Hollywood took almost two decades after its Cold War un-American activities cleansing to regain the nerve to make bold political movies. Television cinema is still somewhat behind a political iron curtain.

Notes

[1] For the view that John F. Kennedy softened the Cold War, see, for example, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days* (Boston, 1965), pp. 298-319. For the view that breakthrough films such as *Dr. Strangelove* both caused and reflected a melting Cold War, see "*Dr. Strangelove* (1964): Nightmare Comedy and the Ideology of Liberal Consensus," in Peter Rollins, ed., *Hollywood As Historian* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1983), pp. 190-210. For the view that youthful protesters (both East and West) warmed the Cold War, see Marjorie Hope, *Youth Against the World* (Boston, 1970).

[2] Ed Bark, "*Amerika*,"*Dallas Morning News*, February 15, 1987, section C, pp.1,15.

[3] General Note: There has been little written about *Amerika* and the film will not likely be available on video, or as a television re-run, because of both its length and archaic historical focus. The novelized screenplay is the one standard source and thus this film seems destined to be only an interesting relic of the Cold War. However, like *The Smothers Brothers* show in the 1960s, *Amerika* demonstrates some of television's unique problems when dealing with politically sensitive material.

[4] Brauna E. Pouns, *Amerika* (New York, 1987). Since there is still no commercial video of *Amerika* the miniseries, this 412 page novelization of Donald Wrye's screenplay is the only guide to *Amerika* readily available. It provides the plot and dialogue, but loses much of the film's mood.

[5] See Pouns, *Amerika*, for characteristic convoluted dialogue. For example, see pp. 236-251.

[6] The United Nations complaint about *Amerika* was reported in an AP story in the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, February 17, 1998, p. 6.

[7] Richard Zoglin, "*Amerika* the Controversial," *Time*, February 9, 1987, p. 73.

[8] For examples of how television sponsors had censored content during the 1950s and 1960s, see Les Brown, *Television: The Business Behind the Box* (New York, 1971), pp. 98-102.

[9] Daniel C. Hallin, "We Keep America On Top of the World," in Todd Gitlin, editor, *Watching Television* (New York, 1986), pp. 35-38.

[10] *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, February 17, 1998, p. 6.

[11] A.C. Nielsen ratings reported in the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, February 19,1987, p. 8.

Dangerous Superpowers: Comic Book Heroes and American Masculinity in the Atomic Age

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After the first hydrogen bomb was detonated on the Eniwetok Atoll in the Pacific on November 1, 1952, atomic physicist Edward Teller, the proud "father" of atomic fusion, informed his colleagues at Los Alamos of the project's success with the statement, "it's a boy."[1] This curious birth announcement (who, then, was the mother?) indicates the prevalent rhetorical coupling of atomic energy with American male (hetero)sexuality. For those outside the inner circle of nuclear scientists, ubiquitous images of phallic bombs, missile silos and "atom-smashers" in the mainstream press underlined this connection and intimated their alternately generative and destructive potential. Despite the U.S. government's attempts to make nuclear power palatable for the nation, the public's concerns mounted, peaking after the April 1954 broadcast of the Operation IVY film (which showed the effects of the fusion blast), and again in October 1962 during the Cuban Missile Crisis.[2]

Around the same time, the 1948 publication of the Kinsey report on male sexuality, whose impact *Newsweek* compared to that of an atomic bomb,[3] threatened to throw dominant codes of American manhood into contestation. With a remarkable publishing run of a quarter of a million copies, the report placed sex and sexuality under wide public scrutiny and revealed that most boys were sexually active by age fifteen and that the incidence of male homoeroticism was far greater than anyone had anticipated.[4]

Forced to reckon with these twinned social crises, many boys would have turned to the one visual medium they could truly call their own: the comic book. This paper will examine the superheroes of the so-called Silver Age of comics (roughly 1956-1966)[5] to suggest how this genre both embodied and helped its audience come to terms with anxiety over nuclear technology and American masculinity, two social phenomena often conflated in their expression. Thus while *superpower* denotes extraordinary individual physical prowess and stamina, it also connotes those nations of the Cold War era with vast nuclear stockpiles, as well as the presumed sexual potency of manhood. By and large, I will confine my discussion to the heterosexual reading strategies of enthusiasts of Silver Age superheroes. This audience's gay male constitu-

ency, as Andy Medhurst notes, could have undertaken a discrete set of cultural negotiations, a type of reading against or in spite of the hegemonic discourses on the superhero that I wish to foreground.[6]

In part, then, this paper scrutinizes the processes by which a readership defines and is defined by a text through visual and narrative tropes particular to that text. Here I follow the lead of a number of cultural critics who have nuanced Laura Mulvey's classic model of a male spectator's psychic alignment with a (in her case, filmic) protagonist. Writing about Clint Eastwood's cinematic persona, Paul Smith asserts that:

> an orthodox critique of the male heroes in these kinds of popular culture narratives would say that they actually present too easy and transcendent a solution to contradiction [of the male subject]: my claim is that, to the contrary, the resolutions and solutions really never come. . . . the narrative disposition of particular tropes of masculinity does not ultimately control or delimit them, and leaves unmanaged and resistant representations of male hysteria.[7]

I would add that a historically situated subculture of viewers, such as adolescent comic readers in the early sixties, are not only specifically interpolated by a text but may have cause for identifying with this position of male hysteria. In fact, the very narrative structure of comic books prohibits the successful recuperation of a male ego ideal: like soap operas, comics are serial in nature and perpetually suspend certain types of closure or resolution common, say, to film or the novel.

This approach challenges the conventional wisdom about what readers desire in comics - that, for example, Superman embodies an ego ideal through which all male readers can perform dominant masculinity. Umberto Eco, for one, contends that:

> Clark Kent personifies fairly typically the average reader who is harassed by complexes and despised by his fellow men; through an obvious process of self-identification, any accountant in any American city secretly feels the hope that one day, from the slough of his actual personality, there can spring forth a superman who is capable of redeeming years of mediocre existence.[8]

I would argue, however, that this process of identification on the part of a male reader is not so "obvious," particularly since both the ideal and actual readership of Superman are not harried accountants but male adolescents who psychically engage the protagonist in contradictory ways and for historically specific reasons. Silver Age heroes, as I hope to demonstrate, further deter any facile, unmediated self-identifications with masculinist hegemony.

The tradition of embedding male (hetero)sexuality within superpower heroes dates back to the so-called Golden Age of comic books (1938-1953). I will briefly examine the first and most popular of these heroes, Superman, in order to dramatize the notable shifts that occur during the Silver Age. Comic narrative repeatedly performs the vacillation between hero and plainsclothesman as metaphoric for the transition between man and boy; Superman's genesis typifies the equivalence of the endowment of superpowers with the incipience of male puberty. As even the most casual reader of comic books knows, Superman is a cosmic orphan who had been rocketed into space by his scientist father just as his home planet of Krypton exploded in a fiery apocalypse. The son's burgeoning (albeit sublimated) sexuality, represented both by Superman's careening, phallic spaceship and his formidable superhuman abilities, stem from or are predicated upon the death of his parents.

Moreover, Superman's masquerade as Clark Kent speaks directly to the anxieties of male adolescents, who quite literally are sexually active men trapped in boys' bodies. In the pages of Superman, the secret, inner manhood of Clark Kent (and of the readers) takes tangible form, and the often painful change from child to adult occurs not over the span of years but in a matter of seconds, a "quick change" in a telephone booth.

Yet the productive splitting of boy/man through secret identity also serves as an apology for a young reader's inability to realize his sexuality. Cartoonist Jules Feiffer has observed:

> The particular brilliance of Superman lay not only in the fact that he was the first of the Superheroes (June 1938), but in the concept of his alter ego. . . Remember, [Clark] Kent was not Superman's true identity as Bruce Wayne was the Batman's ... Superman had only to wake up in the morning to be Superman. In his case, Clark Kent was the put on. The fellow with the eyeglasses and the acne and the walk girls laughed at wasn't real, didn't exist, was a sacrificial disguise, an act of discreet martyrdom. Had they but known![9]

Thus, the bizarre love triangle of Superman-Lois Lane-Clark Kent, in which Lois pursues the Kryptonite "Superhero" but scorns the platitudes of Clark, valorizes and ennobles a heterosexual adolescent's difficulties with the opposite sex.[10] It could only be for the readers' benefit that Superman/ Clark Kent refrained from consummating his (rather masochistic) love for Lois.

These early superheroes' success in acknowledging and fulfilling their audience's desires precipitated a dramatic increase in sales. While in 1940 only 3.7 million comic books were purchased per month, comics' popularity peaked in 1952 with a monthly circulation of nearly sixty million.[11] The comics mar-

ket, however, contracted as quickly as it had expanded; Fredric Wertham's book *Seduction of the Innocent*, published the following year, played a central role in marginalizing the act of comic reading.[12] As senior psychologist for the New York Department of Hospitals, Wertham's studies of psychologically troubled urban youth led him to believe that comics, and especially the horror and superhero genres, were the primary determinant for the rising tide of juvenile delinquency in America. His findings were widely challenged within his field, but a more popular audience of Cold War Americans, inured to jingoistic scapegoating, eagerly jumped on the anti-comic bandwagon.

Wertham charged that comics were too violent, sadistic, and erotic, fostered illiteracy, and provided dangerous behavioral examples for impressionable youth. In one of his most often-cited passages, Wertham declared, based on the testimonials of young homosexual subjects, that Batman and Robin shared a homoerotic relationship that exerted a corrupting influence on young boys.[13] As a result of Wertham's crusade, the Comics Code, similar in spirit to earlier prescriptions for the film industry, was installed to ensure "wholesome" material. Not surprisingly, Batwoman (1956) and Batgirl (1961) were introduced to the Batman title, perhaps to encourage more "family-oriented" adventures, or perhaps to secure the dynamic duo's heterosexuality. Wertham's book, together with the widespread proliferation of television in American homes, combined to submerge comic books in a Dark Age or, rather, an interregnum between the Golden and Silver Ages.[14]

Meanwhile, the constituency of comic book readers was undergoing a notable shift in the late fifties and sixties. While pre-war comic books found nearly equal support from young boys and girls, the Silver Age audience was increasingly male. In addition, many fans, carried over from the Golden Age, were now in their late teens, twenties and even beyond.[15] The appearance of letter pages in the more popular titles signaled the growth of a serious fan base, who, while still a minority, fell largely within this older age group. At the same time, professional comic writers and artists were beginning to emerge directly out of the corps of devoted fans. Stan Lee, who would become the central creative force of the Silver Age, was one of the first fans-turned-comic writers, as was Jim Shooter, who began writing professionally at the age of thirteen and became editor-in-chief of Marvel Comics by twenty-five.[16] Weaned on Golden Age fare, Lee and Shooter knew from experience exactly what adolescent readers desired from their superheroes.

The Silver Age is said to have begun with Marvel Comics' writer Stan Lee and artist Jack Kirby, who more adequately addressed the changes in technology and gender construction in postwar America. Marvel was something of a nameless entity in 1961 when it launched its first costumed crime-fighters, the Fantastic Four .[17] In a covert and hasty attempt to beat the "reds" to the moon,

scientist Reed Richards, his fiancee Sue Storm, her teenage brother Johnny, and Richards' old college roommate, the fighter pilot Ben Grimm, are inadvertently exposed to "cosmic rays". [18] After a miraculous crash-landing, the foursome realize they have acquired strange abilities and re-christen themselves, respectively, Mr. Fantastic, who can stretch and contort his elastic body like rubber; Invisible Girl, who is able to project invisible force-fields and make herself disappear; The Human Torch, who can bathe himself in flame, shoot fireballs, and fly; and The Thing, whose body becomes encrusted with a layer of craggy orange rock, and who possesses superhuman strength. If the Fantastic Four's powers were rather unremarkable (Mr. Fantastic and The Human Torch's abilities were essentially lifted from popular Golden Age heroes), the group's dynamics and personalities were novel for the genre. Here were heroes who never concealed their identities, frequently bickered amongst themselves, and, breaking the pattern of unrequited super-romance, were even engaged to be married.

Buoyed by this initial success, Lee stuck to what Will Jacobs and Gerard Jones have termed his "flawed hero formula"[19] and unleashed a salvo of titles. *The Hulk* (May 1962) featured a Jekyll- and-Hyde plot in which meek Dr. Bruce Banner, after being irradiated with gamma radiation, is transformed in moments of stress into a raging, green-skinned, Frankensteinesque brute.[20] *Thor* (August 1962) showcased the god of thunder, brought to life by Donald Blake, a crippled doctor who discovers a staff in a hidden cave which periodically transforms him into the Norse deity and itself into Thor's "mystic hammer." *Spiderman* (March 1963) came into being when teen "egghead" Peter Parker was bitten by a spider accidently blasted with radiation at a science exhibit, endowing Parker with the powers of an arachnid. And *The X-Men* (September 1963), a group of five teenage "mutants" with various powers, were led by wheelchair-bound mutant telepath Professor Charles Xavier.

Lee's gallery of disabled or tragic figures, monsters and misfits were wholeheartedly embraced by the comic-reading public, with Spiderman swiftly emerging as the most popular of Lee's troubled heroes. Lee had always been disgusted with the Golden Age's pesky boy sidekicks and consequently provided his readers with a comic in which a teenager, Peter Parker, was the central focus.[21] In his origin story in *Amazing Fantasy #15*, Parker, "far from being the biggest man on campus," is depicted as a "bookworm" pampered by his his doting guardians, Aunt May and Uncle Ben. Rebuked by the in-crowd at Midtown High, the embittered Parker swears vengeance: "Some day I'll show them! Some day they'll be sorry!"[22] But when he discovers his brush with radioactivity has endowed him with strength and agility proportionate to that of a spider, Parker at first only uses his powers to win cash prizes and make appearances on television. An unwilling hero, Parker is plagued not only with the

usual parade of colorfully sinister villains, but with more mundane problems as well, among them financial troubles, a foul-tempered boss and an elderly aunt who hovers in and out of illness.

As Lee boasted in a later reminiscence, the name of Marvel's flagship superhero intentionally alluded to the paragon of the Golden Age, Superman;[23] the analogy signaled both Lee's deferential admiration for pre-war heroes and his deconstruction of them. Spiderman, "the hero who could be you,"[24] accommodated reader identification with his litany of angst-inducing adolescent travails. When *Esquire* revealed in September 1965 that even college students had taken to the Marvel title, it was a clear sign that Lee had successfully targeted both the mass of younger readers and the older, dedicated fans.[25] Marvel was relentless in the cultivation of its fan base, forming clubs and societies, soliciting fan mail, and exploiting these letters as valuable feedback that would determine the direction of a given title. Lee's real talent, it was clear, lay in making his readers feel invested in the Marvel project. He even portrayed his heroes in the act of reading comics, as if to dramatize further the equivalence between fan and hero.[26] In response, other, older comic houses attempted to humanize their stockpile of heroes; for example, Superman's vulnerability to kryptonite, a metal indigenous only to his home planet, was increasingly highlighted.

Male adolescents, who might have seen themselves and their changing bodies as grotesque and monstrous, could better relate to the new brand of superhero. Mr. Fantastic's elastic contortions, the Hulk's sudden and uncontrollable metabolic changes, and The Thing's odd and unsightly protrusions spoke to a young man's anxiety over unpredictable hormonal changes that brought growth spurts, the development of body hair and odor, and acne. Heroes who are not always in control of their powers, such as the Hulk, mirrored adolescents' inability to master or regulate their own sexuality, as manifest in wet dreams and sudden shifts in voice range. Comic advertisements that preyed on a reader's self-consciousness, such as Charles Atlas' promises of a "manly" physique or ads for acne creams, reinforced these youthful apprehensions, as even Wertham understood.[27]

More importantly, the Marvel protagonists heighten and problematize the split between boy and man. Marvel's green-colored monster vacillates wildly between the enormous, childish Hulk and a skinny but intelligent Dr. Banner. In the same way, the crippled Dr. Blake shifts in and out of his identity as the strapping supernatural, Thor, whose phallic totem metamorphosizes from a withered cane into a rock-hard, potent hammer when struck on the ground.[28] In essence, Lee renders the "boy" side of the hero unusually helpless while depicting the "man" aspect as excessively or monstrously virile. Unlike Superman's easy transition in a telephone booth, the Marvel heroes' slippage

between powerless weaklings and empowered gargantuans induces a troubled, almost schizophrenic self-loathing. In the first issue of *The Hulk*, when he confronts a picture of his alter- ego, the Hulk is stricken with revulsion and terror peculiar for a peerless titan: "it is weak - soft! I hate it! Take it away!" The otherwise dauntless Hulk recoils from the specter of his own impotence.[29]

As in the Golden Age, the endowment of Silver Age superpowers (the moment of male pubescence) coincides with personal tragedy, but here the moment of horror is reflected back onto the protagonist: The Thing, for example, is simultaneously disfigured and enabled. Whereas pre-war comic books sublimated these destructive urges by jumping quickly from boyhood to manhood in the narrative, the Silver Age hero's malaise - the dark side of his sexuality - is foregrounded and made constitutional to his abilities.

In the same way, a hero's potency interferes with mature (hetero)sexual relationships, but here unfulfilled sexuality is not excused by a necessarily productive and strategic dual identity, as with Superman. In the Silver Age, the superpower itself becomes the obstacle that precludes intimacy with women. As Peter Parker reveals in *Spiderman #72* , "in order to function as Spiderman, poor Peter Parker has to take off whenever he's needed! So how can Gwen [his girlfriend] help but think of me as a full-time chicken!"[30] While Clark Kent finds his passion for Lois Lane reciprocated through the manifestation of Superman (only, oddly enough, to repulse her), Parker is frustrated in his attempts to woo Gwen Stacy exactly because of his secret identity as Spiderman.

The myth of mastery with which Golden Age superheroes were imbued evaporated with the advent of Peter Parker and his tragic Marvel cohorts. Lee's characters, through a variety of visual and narrative strategies, elucidate the agony of budding male adolescence - its monstrousness, impotence and volatile unpredictability.[31] At the same time, the Marvel cast of heroes became increasingly difficult to distinguish from the villains. In fact, foes like Quicksilver and the Scarlet Witch, once the X-Men's archenemies, were made heroes, thanks in part to readers' suggestions.[32]

A review of the Marvel villains' origin stories, in which scientific mishaps are familiarly central, illuminates a strange parallelism between the genesis of good and evil in Lee's comic universe. The creation saga of Doctor Doom, who first appeared in *Fantastic Four #5*, recounts how Victor Von Doom , who possesses both magical powers and technical genius, comes from the heart of Eastern Europe to the U.S. to study at the same university as the young Reed Richards and Ben Grimm (the future Mr. Fantastic and The Thing). In the course of "conducting forbidden experiments," Von Doom's face is disfigured by an accidental explosion and he is expelled from school; soon after, he creates a fearsome metal visage to mask his tragic defacement. Like Richards,

Doom is a talented scientist who jeopardizes his own safety in a secret endeavor to "master" technology, and both become misshapen. Like Ben Grimm, the evil Doctor is horrified by the hideousness induced by his "powers," although Doom allows his self-pity and alienation to escalate into misanthropy.[33]

Likewise, a number of the Hulk's enemies, also green-skinned, are likewise born of accidents with gamma radiation: for instance, an "enemy spy" becomes the colossal Abomination, whose pedigree owes to the Creature from the Black Lagoon .[34] Readers were even impelled to identify with these tortured villains, such as the Fantastic Four's first opponent, the Moleman;[35] as Stan Lee would later recall for his fans: "Didn't you find yourself sympathizing with him [the Moleman], just a bit? There he was, ostracized by his fellow man - and woman - because his physical appearance left a little something to be desired."[36] When the Moleman recounts how he was mocked by women - "What? Me go out with you? Don't make me laugh!" - affinities with Spiderman cannot be ignored.[37] Where the costume insignias of the Golden Age clearly differentiate between good and evil supermen (or, indeed, between boy and man), Silver Age comics blur the distinction even while purporting to follow the same scripted morality play. The megalomaniacal Moleman and Abomination are defeated, predictably, but "superpowers," and thus, masculinity and its (presumed) positive generative potential, are nonetheless irrevocably tainted by this underlying ambivalence.

The obsessive quest for clear identity markers permeated post-war America, especially where Cold War and sexual politics became conflated. John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman write: "Worries about internal subversion took on a moral coloration as anticommunist ideologues searched for signs of decaying values, or the corruption of youth. Pornography became associated with juvenile delinquency, which in turn threatened the nation's future."[38] At the core of this project to shore up both nation and dominant sexuality was the large-scale condemnation of homosexuals, who "suddenly found themselves labeled a threat to national security."[39] In the same way, the comic book also became suspect material, and its attackers reinscribed the criminality of both superhero titles and their readership.

Hence the ambivalence of the Silver age heroes and villains refracted the dominant culture's apprehensions about the ambiguity of identity, be it sexual or political. Generally, it was impossible to tell, from external signs, if someone was mutant or "normal," Communist or patriot, hetero- or homosexual. And as comic readers knew from experience, it was equally pointless to determine whether an adolescent had made the transition from boy to man based on mere physical criteria. Male sexuality was thus subjected to thorough discursive legislation in the post-war period. As Estelle Freedman writes, "the male sexual deviant became the subject of special attention, particularly if he was

inadequately masculine (the effeminate homosexual) or hypermasculine (the sexual psychopath)."[40]

Stan Lee, with his weakling/goliath hero formula, was also interested in the limits of masculinity, and his Janus-faced characters helped his marginalized comic readers negotiate the hegemonic constructions of the American man. Depending on the reader, these codes of masculinity are either reinforced or subversively appropriated; the superhero's sculpted physique is either idealized as a standard to which to aspire or converted into a site of same-sex desire. To the horror of Fredric Wertham and others, the "dynamic duo" was intercepted by young gay male readers as a locus of identification; the psychologist, who did not understand that cartoon heroes cannot have a fixed sexuality, thus designated them "homosexual" in order to clinch their identities and give form to the nation's fears. The widespread suspicion of "the enemy within" became focused both on a political valence (the Communist) as well as a sexual one (the homosexual). Yet "the enemy within" also bespeaks the angst of male adolescents, who were unable to keep their sexuality in check and were thus threatened with the prospect of being labeled "juvenile delinquents."[41] In each case, heroes such as the Hulk, constantly at war with themselves, acutely embodied these postwar anxieties.

Of course, this comic renaissance marked not only the Silver but also the Atomic Age. A panel from *Thor #115* exemplifies the widespread equation of Silver Age superpowers with nuclear energy; whirling his mystic phallus in a manner that visually recreates the atomic nucleus, the god of thunder informs an unsuspecting enemy that he possesses "the power to transmute the elements themselves!"[42] The special abilities of Lee's post-Hiroshima heroes were inevitably induced by radioactive materials (Spiderman) or a thinly-disguised surrogate (the Fantastic Four's cosmic rays, the Hulk's gamma rays). The most blatant allusion emerged in *The X-Men*, where the parents of both Professor Charles Xavier and his pupils had all been, serendipitously, near atomic test sites or laboratories during the heroes' gestation in the womb. In addition, most Marvel protagonists were doctors, technicians, or inventors whose encounters with science (usually atomic) empower them, but, as we have seen, this relationship with technology (as with their own masculinity) is highly ambivalent.

The Silver Age represented the high-water mark of children's anxiety over nuclear proliferation. While the percentage of adults who expressed misgivings about atomic energy steadily declined after 1954, with a brief resurgence in the wake of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, children's fears remained constant and proportionately outstripped those of their elders.[43] Apparently, the admonitions of Bert the Turtle, cartoon hero of civil defense films, to "duck and cover" during a nuclear attack did little to allay the concerns of American youth. Moreover, the prospect that radiation could induce birth defects seemed

to threaten the very heart of American culture (motherhood, the family) and reinforced the growing opinion that "mother nature" had been violated through the splitting of atoms.[44] Correspondingly, the "mutant" X-Men's (nuclear) powers were not entirely beneficial; Professor X, notably, loses his hair in his youth just as he begins to experiment with his newfound abilities, while The Hulk and The Thing are transformed into freakish monsters due to their contact with atomic energies. Even the monolithic Superman saga could accumulate new meanings: Krypton, it was now clear, had succumbed to a nuclear holocaust; Superman, "issued" into our world by a scientist, was quite literally a child of the atom ("it's a boy!"); and kryptonite, which even sounded like a by-product of fusion, weakened and sickened the Man of Steel because it was radioactive.

As another invisible "menace" that had to be sequestered and regulated, like (homo)sexuality, nuclear power insinuated itself into the hidden forces of the Marvel universe. When an enemy spy learns Dr. Banner's secret and becomes the Abomination, he gains destructive (atomic) potential as great as the Hulk's. And just as Lee strove to distinguish between the "benign" Hulk and "malevolent" Abomination through subtleties in physiognomy, the U.S. government and dominant discourse sought to effect a productive ideological split between "good" and "bad" atoms.[45] On one hand, the benefits of atomic energy were emphasized; an image from a 1947 issue of *Collier's*, which portrayed an impaired man healed by a mushroom cloud, typifies the endeavor to accentuate the benevolent, healing potential of the atom.[46] Conversely, the negative aspects of atomic power were projected onto enemies of the state, or, in popular culture, a spate of movie monsters - which peaked in popularity from 1958 to 1965 - that could be handily defeated through personal valor and determination.[47]

In his account of the creation of the X-Men, Stan Lee indicates his allegiance to this discursive project: "We decided to create two groups of mutants, one evil and the other good. One would be eternally striving to subjugate mankind, and the other would be ceaselessly battling to protect the human race."[48] Yet this attempt to force the unfathomable destructive potential of the fusion bomb - which defied both logic and ethics - into the dualistic framework of Euro-American morality betrays its own futility. Two of Lee's "evil" mutants (Quicksilver and the Scarlet Witch) were quickly converted into "good" heroes, while Professor Xavier's disability seems to fly in the face of the rhetoric of the *Collier's* photomontage. If only the misuse of atomic (or super) powers generates monsters, produces disfigurements and eventuates in judicious punishment, why is Prof. Charles Xavier bald and still wheelchair-bound? More to the point, why must Dr. Bruce Banner live in constant fear of his own (nuclear) powers?

As in the case of male sexualities, Silver Age heroes break down carefully erected barricades upholding the rationalization of nuclear energy. The growing anxiety over the loss of control, both sexual and atomic, surfaces continually in Marvel comics, especially in the pages of *The Hulk*. As Spencer Weart writes in *Nuclear Fear*:

> Worries about 'security' were commonly associated with that theme [of the mad scientist]. People. . . believed that security could be maintained only through the control of treacherous feelings, which must be suppressed not only in others but also in themselves. For many people the prototype of such dangerous desires was the bad small boy's aggressive urge to probe into forbidden things. . . . Of course security also seemed to require controlling and keeping hidden the catastrophic forces that the urges aimed to uncover - forces that extended from real technical facts to the magical powers that children often associated with the mysteries of sex. . . .[49]

This rich passage illuminates how effectively Marvel superheroes negotiated this tangled skein of discourse for their audience. The duality of Mr. Fantastic and Doctor Doom, scientists who are, in a sense, equally mad and obsessed with the forbidden, dramatizes the fine line between control and chaos, "good" and "bad" desires, security and catastrophe. When a reader empathizes with the Moleman, whose "master plan" entails the destruction of all atomic plants, does he not (at least partially) give in to "dangerous desires"? [50] Put another way, will scientist Bruce Banner maintain "control," or will he revert to the childish Hulk, who is very much a "catastrophic force," a "bad small boy" with an "aggressive urge"? Lee's comic book figures make clear that the potency of postwar American masculinity and nuclear energy alike are innately inscribed with aggression and violence, "dangerous desires" ever at the threshold of restraint.

A hackneyed truism tells us that each era requires its own brand of hero. The United States' Cold War epoch, in which men found themselves no longer (if they ever were) "masters" of either technology or themselves, produced mythic figures whose masculinity was hardly confident and irrefutable in its construction. *Action Comics #309*, created just prior to the president's death in 1963, concludes with a meeting between John F. Kennedy and the Man of Steel. In order to preserve his secret identity, Superman entreats Kennedy to disguise himself as Clark Kent to create the illusion on national television that Kent and the costumed crusader are standing in the same room. Assuring Superman that he will "guard your secret identity as I guard the secrets of our nation," the president effectively collapses personal (or sexual) and national

identities, enumerating the "secret" of Kent's powers among other items of national security, such as its atomic "secrets."[51] More significantly, the superhero's literal identification with Kennedy, another (flawed and tragic) hero who brought the nation to the brink of nuclear apocalypse and fell prey to an act of senseless violence, underscores the inability of a monolithic hero from a long-gone "Golden Age" to serve as a panacea for modern social ills. Superman's query, "if I can't trust the President of the United States, who can I trust?" invites an ominous response in the wake of the Cuban Missile Crisis and Kennedy's assassination.

Notes

[1] Spencer R. Weart, *Nuclear Fear: A History of Images* (Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 143.

[2] See Weart; and Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).

[3] Steven Cohan, "Masquerading as a Male in the American Fifties," in *Male Trouble,* eds. Constance Penley and Sharon Willis (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 211.

[4] See Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia & London: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948); and John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 285-88.

[5] The Silver Age, as I understand and employ the term, spans very roughly the period from the revival of the Golden Age hero The Flash in October 1956 to the first broadcast of the Batman television show in January 1966.

[6] Andy Medhurst, "Batman, Deviance and Camp," in *The Many Lives of the Batman: Critical Approaches to a Superhero and his Media*, eds. Roberta E. Pearson and William Uricchio (New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1991), 149-63.

[7] Paul Smith, "Action Movie Hysteria, or Eastwood Bound," *Differences* 1:3 (1989): 90.

[8] Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 108.

[9] Jules Feiffer, *The Great Comic Book Heroes* (New York: Dial Press, 1965), 18-19.

[10] *Superman #3* (1939): 9.

[11] Patrick Parsons, "Batman and His Audience: The Dialectic of Culture," in *The Many Lives of the Batman: Critical Approaches to a Superhero and his Media*, eds. Roberta E. Pearson and William Uricchio (New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1991), 68.

[12] Fredric Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1953).

[13] Ibid., 187-93.

[14] Parsons, 71-73.

[15] Ibid., 73-75. For example, a 1964 study by George Pumphrey disclosed that Superman was far and away most popular among twelve- and thirteen-year old boys. George H. Pumphrey, *What Children Think of Their Comics* (London: Epworth Press, 1964), 31.

[16] Parsons, 78.

[17] Depending on the authority, Lee was editor, art director and head writer of either the Canam Publishers Sales Corporation or Timely Comics when the FF was born; the name Marvel Comics was not coined until 1963. See Will Jacobs and Gerard Jones, *The Comic Book Heroes: From the Silver Age to the Present* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1985), 48; and Stan Lee, *Origins of Marvel Comics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 13-18.

[18] *Fantastic Four #1* (November 1961): 10.

[19] Jacobs and Jones, 88.

[20] Stan Lee, *The Incredible Hulk* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 28.

[21] *Amazing Fantasy #15* (March 1963): 2.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Lee, *Origins*, 133, 134.

[24] *Spiderman #9* (February 1964). Quoted from Jacobs and Jones, 66.

[25] Les Daniels, *Comix: A History of Comic Books in America* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1971), 140.

[26] See *Fantastic Four #5* (1962): 2.

[27] Wertham, 206-209.

[28] Lee, *The Incredible Hulk*, 74.

[29] *The Hulk* #1 (May 1962): 10.

[30] *Spiderman* #72 (May 1969): 14.

[31] Peter Middleton makes a similar observation: "The Hulk series makes the split between ordinary man (boy) and superhero (manhood) its central theme, showing that what this division symbolizes is not the easy partnership represented by such images as Clark Kent's telephone booth transformations." The author, however, does not account for the historic singularity and significance of this shift in comic superheroes. Peter Middleton, *The Inward Gaze* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 35.

[32] Jacobs and Jones, 109-10.

[33] *Fantastic Four Annual Edition* (1964): 10, panels 1-5; 11, panels 3-5.

[34] Stan Lee, *Bring on the Bad Guys* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), 191.

[35] *Fantastic Four #1* (November 1961): 22, panel 1.

[36] Lee, *Origins*, 71.

[37] *Fantastic Four #1* (November 1961): 22.

[38] D'Emilio and Freedman, 282.

[39] Ibid., 292.

[40] Estelle B. Freedman, "'Uncontrolled Desires': The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, eds. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 203.

[41] See James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950's* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[42] *Thor #115*, 14, panels 1, 2.

[43] "Well after the Cuban crisis a poll [in 1965] found 40 percent of adolescents admitted 'a great deal' of anxiety about war, more than twice the rate found in older groups." Weart, 265. See also Boyer, 352-356.

[44] Weart, 184-95.

[45] Ibid., 170-82.

[46] *Collier's* (May 3, 1947), reprinted in Boyer, 156.

[47] See Michael Rogin, "Kiss Me Deadly: Communism, Motherhood, and Cold War Movies," in *Ronald Reagan, the Movie and Other Episodes in Political Demonology* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1987), esp. 263-67.

[48] Stan Lee, *Sons of Origins of Marvel Comics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975), 14.

[49] Weart, 125-26.

[50] *Fantastic Four #1* (November 1961): 23, panels 7, 8.

[51]51 *Action Comics* #309; reprinted in Will Jacobs and Gerard Jones, *The Comic Book Heroes: From the Silver Age to the Present* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1985), 79.

From Vietnam to the New World Order: The GI Joe Action Figure as Cold War Artifact

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> "I guess it's remembering a piece of history, trying to preserve a piece of history even if it's your own personal piece of history. . . . Who knows? Maybe a thousand years from now, some archaeologist is going to unearth this house and come up with these G.I. Joe figures and get some insight into us as a culture."
>
> –H. Kirk Bozigian, a Hasbro executive, commenting on his personal collection of action figures[1]

In 1964, when the GI Joe soldier doll for boys was introduced by Hassenfeld Brothers (later known as Hasbro), Congress approved the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution which escalated American involvement in Vietnam. Nonetheless, Hassenfeld designed its action toy to look like a World War II fighting man, who at the time figured prominently in such television adventure series as "Combat" (1962 -1967), "The Lieutenant" (1963), "12 0'Clock High" (1964-1967), and "Rat Patrol" (1966-1967). During this period there were also television situation comedies, some with World War II as the setting, which portrayed the American military man as basically good, even if sometimes whimsical and not always heroic. Examples include "Ensign O'Toole" (1962, 1964), "McHale's Navy" (1962-1965), "Gomer Pyle, USMC" (1964-1968), "Hogan's Heroes" (1965-1971), and "The Wackiest Ship in the Army" (1965). The World War II soldier was also glorified at the time in the exploits of DC Comics' "Sgt. Rock" and Marvel Comics' "Sgt. Fury." There are doubtless many reasons for this lingering fascination with World War II, but any serious analysis would have to take into consideration the interconnection of that war with the subsequent American sense of obligation in international affairs.

It should first be noted that the three presidents who succeeded Harry S. Truman were all veterans of World War II. They came into office with a high sense of duty toward the rest of the world, as can be seen by their inaugural addresses. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the hero general of D-Day and the organizer of NATO, warned his fellow citizens in 1953 that "destiny has laid upon

our country the responsibility of the free world's leadership." Again, in 1957, beginning his second term, Eisenhower declared, "To counter the threat of those who seek rule by force, we must pay the costs of our own needed military strength, and help to build the security of others." When John F. Kennedy became president in 1961, he proclaimed that the United States would "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to ensure the survival and success of liberty." In his 1965 inaugural speech, Johnson explained, "We can never again stand aside, prideful in isolation. . . . If American lives must end, and American treasure be spilled, in countries we barely know, that is the price change has demanded of conviction and of our enduring covenant." These discourses not only represent the interconnection of World War II and the Cold War, they also betray a sense of felt tensions and pressures brought on by the expanded role of American militarism. World War II came to be the source of the nation's new identity as a superpower, and that great event was also something to be looked back on for the occasional maintenance of national courage.

Hence, the GI Joe action figure was made to look like the soldier of the "Good War," even though American soldiers were at that time fighting in Southeast Asia. This boy's doll sold extremely well in its early years, but by 1970 the toll of the Vietnam protests was such that it prompted Hasbro to turn gung-ho Joes into "The Adventure Team." Instead of fighting a war, they would now grow beards and look for sunken treasure or track down wild animals. By 1976, the year after South Vietnam fell to communist North Vietnam, the GI Joe action figure was given the token name of "Super Joe" while being reduced in size from twelve to eight inches, as if there were a symbolic lowering of his stature. Two years later, with Kenner dominating the market with its Star Wars figures, Hasbro stopped producing GI Joes entirely.

The GI Joe story does not end here. But subsequent events would put to the test the superpower resolve of the United States. In 1979, the year after GI Joe was discontinued, American prestige in foreign affairs was further deflated by the hostage crisis in Iran and, a year later, by the failed rescue attempt. The abandoned helicopters in Desert One were psychologically reminiscent of the ignoble withdrawal from Vietnam when, due to haste, American helicopters had to be shoved off the deck of an aircraft carrier and wastefully dumped into the South China Sea.[2] Also, in 1979, there was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and, a year later, the US boycott of the Olympics held in Moscow. This period was also marked by labor unrest in Poland, which created tensions in Eastern Europe. The American public's response to these and other events was the election in 1980 of Ronald Reagan, a strong advocate of the armed forces and an unequivocal anticommunist. James Webb, the future head of the Navy and the man whose combat boots would be used as a model for the warrior

sculpture in front of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, came out with his second best-selling military novel, *A Sense of Honor*. Likewise, the theme of honor resounded prominently in Reagan's inauguration, first with Iran freeing the hostages, and second, through the remarks of the new president affirming American heroes such as Martin Treptow, who fell on a World War I battlefield. Hasbro, as if on cue, subsequently reissued GI Joe, designating it "A Real American Hero."

This second wave of GI Joe action figures began an impressive assault, as if scaling the black granite wall of the newly dedicated Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, even though they stood only three-and-three-quarters inches tall. Actually, this was the new size standard for the toy industry, based on Kenner's Star Wars figures. "A Real American Hero" is apparently what American society wanted because the new GI Joe was the best-selling toy of the 1982 holiday season.[3] Indeed, many children had written Hasbro, asking the toy maker to bring GI Joe back, and for its part Hasbro coopted the political discourse of the times and used it for its marketing purposes. By the next year, GI Joe would have its own cartoon series, reinforcing the concept of soldier as hero.

In 1983, Reagan not only called the Soviet Union an "evil empire" and announced plans for the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars), he saw to it that the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada was liberated from communist rule, as he no doubt felt that Cuba should have been two decades earlier. During his subsequent State of the Union speech, Reagan had a participant of the Grenada invasion, an airborne ranger, stand up before a joint-session of Congress and be recognized as an American hero. The following year Reagan easily won reelection while using the slogan "It's morning in America again."

By the time George Bush assumed the presidency, Hasbro was claiming that two-thirds of American boys between the ages of five and eleven owned GI Joes.[4] In 1989, a year after Bush ordered the invasion of Panama and the kidnaping of its leader, GI Joe was introduced for the first time with actual shooting weapons. As one Hasbro official explained, seemingly echoing the common refrain about why the United States lost the Vietnam War, "We felt like we were playing with one hand tied behind our backs."[5] With such firepower GI Joe could now be even more of a real American hero, while maintaining its strength in sales. In the real world of warfare, Bush vowed on the eve of Desert Storm that "No hands are going to be tied behind backs," explaining, "This is not Vietnam."[6]

The year 1991, which began with the Gulf War and concluded with the collapse of the Soviet Union, was a moment in history when World War II, the Cold War, and the New World Order intersected. It starred an American president, a former World War II fighter pilot, overseeing the surgical air strikes

against Iraq, an action endorsed by an international coalition which symbolized a New World Order, and it coincided with the near simultaneous dissolution of the USSR. Bush was the first American president able to proclaim, "We won the Cold War!" and "It's a New World Order!" The following year GI Joe, as victor, was back at his original twelve inches of height and given the name of "Duke." Dressed in desert camouflage fatigues, as if eager to reenact the Gulf War (maybe this time going all the way to Baghdad), "Duke" linked the action figure with the John Wayne legend.[7] As an actor in heroic movies depicting World War II (e.g., "Sands of Iwo Jima") and the Vietnam War (e.g., "The Green Berets"), Wayne ("Duke") was an apt symbol to tie together different periods of history, connecting the present New World Order with the glorious past.

The above narrative treats the GI Joe action figure as a Cold War artifact, reading it as a text that was written for, but not by, children. The inherent presupposition is that mass-produced toys–designed, marketed, and purchased by adults–are about more than just child's play. According to Thomas J. Schlereth, toys are "artifacts of two cultures" and "reveal as much about a society's adults as its children."[8] To read a toy as an adult text is not to ignore or dismiss the agency of children, but rather it is to examine one important dimension of meaning. In this case, what is being examined is the adult meaning infused into the artifact.

The observation Roland Barthes made about French toys, that they "prefigure the world of adult functions,"[9] can also apply to the American action figure. Shortly after GI Joe was introduced, Antonia Fraser in *A History of Toys* described the action figure as "openly warlike," but went on to rationalize its existence, regrettable or questionable as it may have been, by concluding that it is an inevitable part of a child's desire to imitate adults:

> This is obviously the natural development of an age when a child's admired father is dressed up as GI Joe. As long as men go to war and armies exist children will want to play with soldiers, and therefore one can scarcely blame the manufacturers for trying to fill the need. At the same time on the principle of the chicken and the egg, it might be argued that as long as the children are given soldiers to play with, they themselves will grow up prepared to be soldiers–but here the argument begins to extend far outside the realm of a history of toys.[10]

What Fraser deemed as being beyond "history" is essentially cultural hegemony, the socialization process involving the winning of loyalty to common values and attitudes.[11] Toys that prefigure adult functions socialize children to think and feel in certain ways. When read as a text, the GI Joe toy can offer

insight into how certain American values and attitudes are passed on to children. The chicken and the egg argument is more ambiguous than Fraser framed it to be. On the one hand, many boys who played with GI Joes never evolved into Cold War soldiers. On the other hand, many who never wore military uniforms supported American interventionist policies.

Anything that is made reveals a little of the maker's worldview. Simple as that may be, it is easy to overlook. The maker prefers that attention be given to the finished product, not to the process that went into its making. If there are explanations, then they will generally be focused on how the material object is to be used. If justifications are offered, then legitimation will often be based on universals, as if the artifact's reality is outside and apart from any human social construction. For example, a GI Joe promotional film viewed by potential buyers at the 1964 Toy Fair gave the impression that Hasbro's new action figure was only helping to fulfill the natural desires of boys:

> Since the beginning of time children have always played soldier– with wooden swords, broomstick rifles, with cast-lead soldiers, with plastic minatures . . . but none of these gave a boy the feeling he was playing real soldier.[12]

The GI Joe came with not only lifelike uniforms and realistic military accessories, but a body with twenty-one movable joints which enabled it to be naturally posed in various combat situations. According to the promotional film, children could now play soldier and, thanks to Hasbro, the experience would seem more authentic. Here can be seen a subtle denial of cultural hegemony, as the very moment of invention is disguised as merely a different form of preexisting essence. But what, in fact, was being introduced was a symbol for the time, a visual aid of the Cold War.

According to Gene Del Vecchio, the GI Joe action figure is "Ever-Cool" because it satisfies an "eternal emotion" with its good-versus-evil storyline, while simultaneously being relevant to the contemporary context: "So as evils spring up in the real world, boys imagine that they can defend their country from it, and the G.I. Joe is the conduit through which they can fantasize."[13] If this explanation of GI Joe's popularity is correct, it suggests that cultural hegemony is actualized by an emotionalizing process which connects certain ideas of reality with latent psychological needs. Even so, explanations of "Ever-Cool" and "eternal emotion" deny the power of creation by attributing it to something outside itself.

Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman in *The Social Construction of Reality* stress the importance of formula in transmitting experiences from one generation to the next.[14] They explain that common experiences, perhaps what Raymond Williams would have called structures of feeling,[15] become

sedimented in human consciousness, which functions as a collective depository. A sign system, essentially language, is necessary for the transmission and retrieval of these common experiences. The GI Joe action figure, which is not only an artifact but also a formulaic sign system, serves as a template, connecting World War II with the Cold War, and now the Cold War with the New World Order. The formula is part of the "eternal emotion" and allows for meaning to change, as the sedimentation of the collective consciousness shifts and accommodates new experiences and new interpretations. This kind of meaning is complex, not simple, as it is based on symbols that suggest or imply rather than denote.[16] Any attempt at understanding the operation of cultural hegemony must distinguish between symbol and reality, or, in this case, between action figure and reality.

It is important to clarify that the theory of cultural hegemony does not presuppose a single view of reality, even if it does focus on what is considered to be a dominant one. In almost any given situation, there will be resistance, such as the social critics who objected to the GI Joe because of its being a war toy. Also, any view of reality is subject to change, especially during moments of crisis. For example, in America the "rallying around the flag" phenomenon will often take place during the initial outbreak of military conflict, and even individuals who had beforehand been opposed to the actions or policies leading up to the event frequently find themselves siding with what they in a larger sense do not accept. (A person in such a situation might say, "While I question the need for us to intervene, I fully support our troops who have been deployed.") Or, vice versa, supporters can later transform into oppositionists, as did many over the Vietnam War once they concluded it was a stalemated or immoral situation. Thus, any reference to a dominant viewpoint or ideology should be understood in a restricted sense for a particular context. At the same time, it should be emphasized that any focus on a specific prop of hegemony, in this case the GI Joe action figure, is not to suggest that any power it may have (or may have had) is one that developed in isolation; any such tool is simply one component of a multi-faceted whole. While there are dangers and pitfalls in any interpretive effort, there is at the same time the reality of a society having shared symbols and the researcher's dialectical safeguard of going back and forth between texts and contexts.[17] For the analysis offered in the first part of this essay, the text is the GI Joe action figure and the context is the historical narrative of 1964-1992.

The last section of this presentation will focus on the "action figure" designation for the GI Joe in an attempt to discover a hegemonic meaning. At a surface level, "action figure" is terminology which denies, or conceals, the reality of a boy's doll. GI Joe was inspired by Mattel's Barbie (which made its debut in 1959), but marketers realized that the typical boy would never play

with a doll that was actually called a doll. Hence, the "action figure" nomenclature, made all the more convincing by the GI Joe's many movable joints. (Ironically, a federal judge ruled in 1989 that GI Joe is not a toy soldier but a doll, mandating that Hasbro pay a 12 percent rather than a 6.8 percent tariff for importing its Hong Kong-made action figure into the United States.[18])

A feminist reading suggests that the GI Joe action figure reinforces the stereotype that males are supposed to be active, whereas Barbie, with less movability (because it is a fashion figure), teaches girls that females are expected to be passive.[19] This viewpoint argues that "action figure" is a reinforcement of male dominance. However, such observation is somewhat weakened by Ken, Barbie's boyfriend, who is also less mobile than GI Joe. Furthermore, the GI Joe nurse, a female figure with blonde hair and painted green eyes, had the same bendable joints as the male figures of soldier, sailor, pilot, and marine. If the GI Joe nurse was just an auxiliary, Barbie at least was able to serve as an air force pilot, a navy chief petty officer, and an army captain.[20] There was also a "Desert Storm Barbie ."[21] Moreover, since Mattel and Hasbro are not the same company, the argument that Barbie is representative of female passivity simply because it has fewer joints than GI Joe is all the more untenable because it falsely fuses two "authors" (the toy manufacturers) into one and mistakenly attributes the differences in their "texts" (the boy's doll and the girl's doll) to a decision made by a singular mind.

Any attempt to explain the meaning of the "action figure" designator should be based on the context in which it was created. That context is the Cold War. "Action figure" was the name given for a toy soldier that was introduced to the public during a full-blown manifestation of the Cold War, the military intervention in Southeast Asia now known as the Vietnam War. While the GI Joe was literally a movable toy soldier, the "action figure" name just happened to coincide with a fundamental American impulse. As an attitude, it was expressed in the inaugural addresses of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, all proclaiming that the United States must lead the way, set the example, and fight war when necessary. The Kennedy speech, for instance, offered the verbs of "pay," "bear," "meet," "support," and "oppose," expressing action, and anyone carrying them out would be in a sense an "action figure."

This fundamental impulse or attitude is more than simply poetic matching. Rather, it has deep roots in the American past. Michael H. Hunt in *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* argues that the Vietnam War was "the culmination . . . of an old [American] impulse to impose on the world the patterns of an ideological foreign policy."[22] That old impulse, Hunt explains, can be traced back to the eighteenth century, when Americans envisioned themselves as having a national greatness, one founded on liberty and political moderation. Americans also shared a view that their nation was an example for the rest of the

world to follow. However, in time there developed racist attitudes that some foreigners were incapable of establishing democracy without outside help. That belief, coupled with a growing intolerance toward radicalism, led to greater and greater foreign intervention on the part of the United States. During the Cold War, the United States' foreign policy was a reaction against radicalism ("communist aggression") and the fear that many countries were incapable of resisting such an antidemocratic threat. The policy of containment was actually a vigorous and active vigilantism.

Hence, the GI Joe action figure was (and is) about more than child's play. In actuality, it is an artifact of an ideology that was revived during World War II, but which can be traced back to the founding of the country. The sense of national greatness, as manifested during the Cold War, fosters a sense of responsibility to take action wherever and whenever it is deemed necessary. This concept of duty, and the confidence to take action, is fostered in children who play with GI Joes and other toys like it. While it would be absurd to suggest that all boys who played with action figures went on to become soldiers, it could be argued that by adulthood most were supportive of American interventionism in foreign affairs. Such inculturation is not an isolated event, not exclusively the result of playing with certain toys, but is a process reinforced in a multitude of different ways over the course of an individual's lifetime.

Today GI Joe is a Cold War artifact casting its shadow into the New World Order. As a symbol, and part of an American national depository of meaning, the GI Joe action figure transmits mythologies and experiences to the next generation.

Notes

[1] G.Wayne Miller, *Toy Wars*: *The Epic Struggle Between G.I. Joe, Barbie and the Companies That Make Them* (New York: Times Books, 1998), 126.

[2] Lynda Boose, "Techno-Muscularity and the 'Boy Eternal': From the Quagmire to the Gulf," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, eds. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 586.

[3] Gary Cross, *Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 203.

[4] Ibid., 204.

[5] Miller, *Toy Wars*, 127.

[6] Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (New York: BasicBooks, 1995), 274.

[7] Dan Fleming, *Powerplay: Toys as Popular Culture* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), 163.

[8] Thomas J. Schlereth, *Cultural History and Material Culture: Everyday Life, Landscapes, Museums* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 91.

[9] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annete Lavers (New York: Hill & Wang, 1972), 53.

[10] Antonia Fraser, *A History of Toys* (Frankfort-am-Main: Delacorte Press, 1966), 230-231.

[11] The concept of cultural hegemony is rooted in the insights of Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings*, ed. and trans. Louis Marks (New York: International Publishers, 1967), and *Selections From Prison Notebooks*, eds. and trans. Quentin Horace and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

[12] Miller, *Toy Wars*, 27.

[13] Gene Del Vecchio, *Creating Ever-Cool: A Marketer's Guide to a Kid's Heart* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, Inc., 1997), 40-41.

[14] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality* (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), 67-72.

[15] See Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1975).

[16] Wendy Griswold, *Cultures and Societies in a Changing World* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 1994), 19.

[17] Robert Darton, *The Great Cat Massacre* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 259-263.

[18] Sydney Ladensohn Stern and Ted Schoenhaus, *Toyland: The High-Stakes Games of the Toy Industry* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1990), 112.

[19] Judy Attfield, "Barbie and Action Man: Adult Toys for Boys and Girls, 1959-93," in *The Gendered Object,* ed. Patrick Kirkham (New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), 80-89.

[20] Marianne Debouzy, "The Barbie Doll," in *European Readings of American Popular Culture*, eds. John Dean and Jean-Paul Gabilliet (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 142.

[21] Ann duCille, "Dyes and Dolls: Multicultural Barbie and the Merchandizing of Difference," in *A Cultural Studies Reader: History, Theory, Practice*, eds. Jessica Munns and Gita Rajan (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 556.

[22] Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 170.

American Dream Meets Russian Nightmare: Professional Wrestling and the End of the Cold War

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In the waning years of the Cold War, a curious series of events unfolded in one of the American professional wrestling leagues. A popular veteran wrestler nicknamed "The American Dream" and an unpopular newcomer known as "the Russian Nightmare" became tag-team partners. This partnership—between Dusty Rhodes and Nikita Koloff—originated within the National Wrestling Alliance (NWA) in the early months of 1987, before Gorbachev had implemented many of his proposed reforms and long before the Soviet Union finally collapsed in 1991. Since professional wrestling is often treated as a repository of prejudice and blind patriotism, the alliance between the American Dream and the Russian Nightmare warrants further consideration. In this essay I would like to explore several interrelated issues: the importance of "alliance narratives" during the Cold War; the rehabilitation of the Russian image both in and out of the ring; and the implications of treating professional wrestling as a kind of performance art for the working class.[1]

I should begin by admitting the obvious: of course the competition is rigged. One look at Dusty Rhodes, fan favorite and occasional champion, should have convinced anyone that professional wrestling is less a sport than a performance art. By 1987, Rhodes was a flabby, fifty-year-old Texan with sagging pectorals who absorbed blows better than he delivered them. Outside of the ring, however, the American Dream revealed the true basis for his popularity. Wearing boots, bandanna, and a cowboy hat, Rhodes used the television interview to transform himself into a working-class hero (he sounded for all the world like a white Jesse Jackson, complete with stirring cadences and ringing one-liners). In the late 1980s, the NWA was able to squeeze a few more matches out of the fading Rhodes through its distinctive emphasis on tag teams and audience participation. Unlike most forms of television entertainment, professional wrestling responds directly to the shifting moods and desires of the live audience in the arena.[2] And unlike television coverage of professional sports, which tends to emphasize individual performance over teamwork, professional wrestling foregrounds such group issues as loyalty, sacrifice, and betrayal.

In this and other respects, professional wrestling resembles the nineteenth-century melodrama.[3] In each of these ostensibly lowbrow genres, exaggerated acts of virtue and vice elicit exaggerated responses from a largely working-class audience. The wrestling ring, like the melodramatic stage, is a site of struggle and transformation in which honest workaday characters like Dusty Rhodes battle against such evil powers as the Four Horsemen (managed by the sleazy James J. Dillon) and the vicious Midnight Express (managed by an obnoxious young millionaire named Jim Cornette). In professional wrestling, however, struggle itself is institutionalized to such an extent that dramatic roles become lifelong occupations. Just as no wrestler can be defeated once and for all, Dusty Rhodes could never separate himself from the identity conferred upon him by the spectacle. In most of the wrestling leagues now on television, this has led to a stultifying dead end: characters wrestle week after week, but nothing ever happens which might give permanent, irreversible meaning to a particular match. In the mid-1980s, the National Wrestling Alliance attempted to solve this problem by developing what might be called alliance narratives—stories based on the composition and recomposition of tag teams. Recognizing that an utterly isolated individual was an artistic cipher, the NWA tried to situate its wrestlers within teams that had some kind of collective identity. Lex Lugar, for example, was virtuous or vicious not in his essence but in his association with an established tag team. When he quit the Four Horsemen, he took the first step toward his own redemption and, at the same time, opened up new possibilities for future episodes of the NWA story.

Of all the alliance narratives developed during the 1980s, the strangest one centered on the protean career of Nikita Koloff, nicknamed the "Russian Nightmare." Once paired with his Uncle Ivan Koloff to form a Soviet tag team, Nikita broke with his comrade to join up with none other than Dusty Rhodes. Given the NWA's penchant for reversal and betrayal, the switch was not in itself remarkable, especially since Koloff had already won the grudging respect of fans through his powerful physique and his devastating forearm hook called, appropriately enough, the Russian Sickle. Unexpectedly, however, fans started to feel more than mere respect for the awkward young representative of the Evil Empire. After Koloff defeated Magnum T.A. for the U.S. Heavyweight Title in 1986, promoters undoubtedly decided to exploit his ambiguous status by engineering his break with Uncle Ivan and later, by pairing him with the American Dream. On the surface, Nikita's defection might have appeared as yet another victory for the American way, but his transformation was handled with more subtlety and satire than was normally met with in the political discourse of the Reagan-Bush years. Nikita's "own" explanation, far from celebrating free enterprise, tended to question the meaning of patriotism and national loyalty. With irony that could only have been intentional, Nikita de-

scribed what it felt like to become an American in an age of multinational capitalism: "I celebrate the Fourth of July instead of May Day, eat real eggs instead of caviar, and drive flashy Japanese car I buy on credit."[4]

Given the mutability of his alliances and the irony of his interviews, Nikita Koloff presents several problems for theories of mass culture. For one thing, the conversion of Nikita Koloff questions the adequacy of any theory of professional wrestling that derives its method from structural linguistics. In a seminal collection of essays on mass culture entitled *Mythologies*, Roland Barthes describes the wrestling ring as a site of "pure and full signification" through which one can experience "the euphoria of men raised for a while above the constitutive ambiguity of everyday situations and placed before the panoramic view of a univocal Nature, in which signs at last correspond to causes, without obstacle, without evasion, without contradiction."[5] In his account of the French counterpart to American professional wrestling, Barthes strongly emphasizes the "synchronic" plenitude of meaning (that is, he treats each match as a complete system or structure of significance). Unfortunately, Barthes's approach sheds little light on wrestling as a "diachronic" narrative of group conflict that develops over time and that never reaches a conclusion (except when the wrestlers die or the leagues go bankrupt). NWA audiences undoubtedly delighted at such overt gestures of dominance as the body slam or the back breaker, but what packed the arena week after week was an appreciation for the decomposition and recomposition of tag teams that gave special meaning to individual acts of violence. Out of these acts of violence, the NWA fabricated a history marked by wild reversals of fortune: at every match fans could witness the foe turned into friend, the cheater defeated by his own cheating, the dominator utterly dominated.

A similar theoretical problem arises when the linguistic and extralinguistic aspects of professional wrestling are treated as complementary parts of a single discourse, for one of the salient features of wrestling as a working-class art form involves the difference (and frequently the contradiction) between what is said during interviews and what happens in the ring. The special status of the interview is highlighted by the "Superpower" alliance between the eloquent Dusty Rhodes and the inarticulate Nikita Koloff. Over the course of his long career, Rhodes had become sluggish in his moves but extremely fluent in his speech. Koloff, for all his talent in the ring, spoke so crudely that every third word was incomprehensible (No doubt he was trying to imitate a real Russian immigrant, but to my ear he sounded more like a moose with strep throat). Curiously, this actually endeared Koloff to his American audience, for in professional wrestling, a certain degree of inarticulateness can serve as a token of authenticity (as long as it is consistent with the wrestler's persona). The two wrestlers comprising the Rock 'n' Roll Express, for example, were consis-

tently bashful and reticent during interviews. Mimicking the behavior of some young athletes and rock stars, they always managed to give the impression that the interviewer's microphone was an imposition from official society which they politely endured.

But if inarticulateness was sometimes an indication of a wrestler's sincerity, having a manager present during questioning was almost always a sign of deceit. There may have been a kernel of true emotion in the words of one of the Four Horsemen, but their manager—James J. Dillon—was so calculating and greedy that he regularly aroused hisses from the audience. Fans also loved to hate Jim Cornette, but in this case the audience response was heightened by socio-economic inequity. Cornette, manager of the Midnight Express, played the part of a spoiled rich kid, and he used the interviews as occasions to whine, snivel and gloat (If Dusty Rhodes sounded like a white Jesse Jackson, Jim Cornette resembled a young George Bush). Never appearing without his tennis racket—scepter of the ruling class—Cornette used his family money to buy friends and titles. In 1987 he even tried to hire Dick Murdoch (Captain Redneck) to win the U.S. Heavyweight Title and then deliver the belt to Beautiful Bobby Eaton (the ugly half of the Midnight Express).

Thus, the interview is not a partial moment of a seamless, unified discourse but the false half of a contradiction between word and deed, between ideological claim and material conflict. However gullible the audience may seem during actual matches, they view interviews with great skepticism, and it is fair to say that they verify the truth or falsity of particular utterances by observing the collisions and contortions of the bodies from which the utterances originated. As to the bodies themselves, it is once again important to distinguish between the NWA in the 1980s and the more popular (and commercialized) wrestling syndicates on television today. In the 1980s, the NWA was notable for presenting a surprising range of shapes and sizes with varying degrees of muscularity or obesity. In part, this was a response to loyal, longtime fans, who had greater appreciation for old feuds and old wrestlers. There may, however, have been a deeper meaning behind this phenomenon. Promoters could have assembled a cast of large, finely sculpted athletes, but I think the NWA's traditional fans would have derived little pleasure from viewing the uniform products of steroids and Nautilus machines. A heterogeneous array of shapes allows an "average" body to triumph occasionally over bodies formed by self-discipline and scientific management. For this reason a diversity of bodies allows the transcendence of mere physique, and the ring therefore grants a certain equality of opportunity to all who enter it. In doing so it implies that the men who struggle there are something more than brute flesh and bone.

In this paradoxical manner, professional wrestling sometimes generates a humane message out of the most calculating degradation, just as it manufac-

tures "chance" outcomes by requiring wrestlers to follow a meticulously detailed script. Even if the outcome of every match were not decided in advance, the ostensible role of error and chance would be enough to disqualify professional wrestling from being a true athletic competition. But this disqualification allows professional wrestling to respond to the audience's most utopian impulses by incorporating (or travestying) broader social and political issues. Freed from the rigors of competition and the standards of taste, professional wrestling can occasionally function as a kind of sentinel sport. In other words, since professional wrestling is relatively free from formal regulations, it can quickly register and exploit the shifting attitudes of the viewing public.

As I have suggested, this capability is best illustrated by the strange career of Nikita Koloff during the waning years of the Cold War. For much of the 1980s, Koloff was still marketed as a classic villain, that is, as a wrestler who openly violated the "rules" for evil purposes. In addition, Koloff's Soviet citizenship was often contrasted with American patriotism. In one politically charged match that occurred in 1985, Don Kernodle defeated Ivan Koloff and thereby regained his American flag from the desecrating Russians. Nikita—attending his uncle at ringside—refused to abide by the decision and viciously attacked Kernodle, who had to be rescued by none other than Dusty Rhodes. Both the malicious interference by Nikita Koloff and the rescue by Dusty Rhodes were standard scenes in the NWA repertoire. That is, most wrestlers—especially the villains—ostensibly harbored deeply-felt animosity toward opponents and a corresponding disrespect for the rules of the ring. Wrestlers were also presumed to be too strong for normal mortals to restrain, so when a villain ran amuck, he had to be stopped by a "good" wrestler who respected the rules of fair play. Promoters accordingly used the interference and the rescue not only to add interest (and outrage) to a particular match, but also to develop a wrestler's public image as a villain or hero.

In any event, Nikita Koloff was fairly consistently portrayed as a villain throughout 1985. When Ivan Koloff and Krusher Krushev were being defeated by the Rock 'n' Roll Express, Nikita leapt into the ring with a chain and stopped the match. Nikita's bad behavior continued through 1986 when he met with Magnum T.A. to sign a lucrative contract for future matches. In the televised press conference, Magnum T.A. was accompanied by his mother while Nikita was seconded by his Uncle Ivan. Nikita had already desecrated the American flag, and with an embodiment of American motherhood so nearby, he could not resist insulting "Mrs. T.A." Magnum of course retaliated, but he was no match for the two Russians. Later, in a move calculated to outrage and thereby attract wrestling fans, the NWA president delivered an official reprimand, not to the Koloffs, but to Magnum T.A. Magnum punched the president and was stripped of his title pending the outcome of seven matches with Nikita Koloff.

Out of this melodramatic cauldron of outrage and villainy, Nikita Koloff rose to become the U.S. Heavyweight Champion.

But how did he become popular with American fans? The fans expect reversals and betrayals—this in fact lends drama to tag team matches and builds interest in individual rivalries. In the case of Nikita Koloff, however, there were several additional factors at play. First, Nikita's age and inexperience worked to his advantage, for his anti-American acts could be characterized as mistakes of youth. Second, there was always a tongue-in-cheek quality to Nikita's ostensible devotion to Soviet Communism (one of the standard NWA publicity photos shows the hulking Nikita and Ivan Koloff struggling to understand a book on Soviet political philosophy, which bears the English title *Propaganda*). Finally, social class played a key role in Nikita's rehabilitation. As indicated above, Nikita himself emphasized the material, practical aspects of his move from Russia to the United States. *Pro Wrestling Illustrated*, the magazine which helped facilitate Nikita's transformation, placed a similar emphasis on practical conditions rather than grand ideologies:

> Those born in this country find it hard to imagine the sheer multitude of adjustments that someone raised in a Communist country must make in order to live in America. . . . In the Soviet Union, everyone is guaranteed a job, no matter how unfit they might be. It may not be caviar and roses, but it is steady. In America one can rise to greater heights, but fail just as resoundingly.[6]

Due to all of these factors, the fans were willing to view Nikita, not as the personification of an evil empire, but as a working wrestler who was compelled to practice his trade in a different social order. For Dusty Rhodes and for NWA fans, in other words, class solidarity based on a shared necessity to work could occasionally overcome Cold War antagonisms rooted in national difference.

It therefore became possible to turn the powerful young Nikita into an ally of Dusty Rhodes, who was struggling to squeeze a few more victories out of his aging and injured body.[7] On several occasions, the two wrestlers were teammates in eight-man matches, as in the spring of 1987, when Rhodes, Nikita Koloff, and the Road Warriors were pitted against a version of the Four Horsemen (Ric Flair, Tully Blanchard, Arn Anderson, and Ole Anderson). Such anomalous, *ad hoc* teams do not necessarily imply a strong bond among the wrestlers, so it was significant when promoters decided to take the next step of pairing Rhodes and Nikita Koloff as a regular, two-man tag team. The emergence of this team was partly facilitated by the actions of Dick Murdoch. Murdoch, a.k.a. "Captain Redneck," had been paired up with Dusty Rhodes in the 1960s. Their team, called the Texas Outlaws, had a reputation for brawling

and cheating. As one might expect, there was no honor among villains, and the relationship between the two men alternated between periods of devoted friendship and dastardly acts of betrayal. The team broke up in the 1970s, and although Murdoch retained his "Texas Outlaw" image, Rhodes developed a new, more endearing persona as "The American Dream." In any event, Murdoch briefly teamed up with Rhodes and Nikita in 1987, but true to form, Murdoch "unexpectedly" turned on the other two wrestlers. From Rhodes's perspective, a loyal Russian was better than a back-stabbing Texan, so Rhodes and Koloff became a regular two-man tag team, competing against the likes of the Midnight Express and the team of Ric Flair and Lex Lugar. The alliance between the American Dream and the Russian Nightmare did nothing to hurt Rhodes's reputation with the fans, for at the end of 1987, *Pro Wrestling Illustrated* named him "Most Popular Wrestler."

For Nikita Koloff, teaming up with Rhodes was a means to rehabilitate his image with the fans. The success of his rehabilitation was vividly demonstrated in January 1988, in a televised match between Nikita Koloff and Mike Rotundo of the Varsity Club.[8] As the name indicates, the Varsity Club served as a symbol of wealth and education in professional wrestling. Rotundo himself bore the nickname of "Mr. Wallstreet," and both his moves and his uniform (singlet and headgear) were derived from the genuine collegiate sport. The January match was a two-man contest between Koloff and Rotundo, so in essence the audience was treated to a politically charged conflict between the burly Russian and the college-educated representative of the American elite. Confronted with such a spectacle, the audience had a number of options. They could, for example, have decided that both wrestlers were villains, and simply rooted for a violent, destructive match. They could also have chosen to pass negative judgment on Nikita's rehabilitation if they believed that Russians were inherently villainous. Instead, the audience decided that Rotundo was the real villain, and they rooted loudly for the workaday Russian partner of the American Dream. In the end, Nikita Koloff won a double victory—in the ring and in the hearts of his American audience.

The match was a turning point in the career of Nikita Koloff. In all likelihood, promoters had decided that class solidarity could be used to increase ticket sales. If nothing else, they recognized that the Russian image had become less menacing and more fluid to a working-class audience. Paradoxically, Nikita's transformation was confirmed by a subsequent defeat. Villains are especially coveted by promoters because they sharpen conflicts and stimulate enthusiasm for protagonists. In addition, promoters frequently exploit villains and villainy in televised contests to promote fan interest in local or pay-per-view matches. A few weeks after their initial match, Rotundo and Nikita Koloff wrestled again, this time for the so-called television title (then held by

Koloff). To the obvious displeasure of the audience, Rotundo won the title. His victory signalled the emergence of a new chief villain in the NWA, but more significantly, it indicated that class resentment had displaced Cold War mistrust as the ultimate source of fan animosity. It is not so easy to explain why a match with a predetermined outcome should have aroused such passion in the audience several years before the Cold War had officially ended. Maybe the fans were drawn to NWA spectacles because official society condemned them, or perhaps the NWA appealed to their buried desires for a new kind of alliance. Whatever the appeal, the NWA reached its peak of popularity during the Reagan-Bush era. In those years the NWA created a crude arena where the struggle was not between lone protagonists and a seamless power structure, but between polarized groups who were forced to put aside their lies and fight it out in the ring.

According to some sociologists, it should have been impossible for professional wrestling to stray so far from Cold War conformity. Michael R. Ball, for example, characterizes professional wrestling as a "liminoid ritual designed to maximize profits and to surreptitiously promote the core values of conservative bureaucratic elites."[9] As I have suggested, the curious alliance of the American Dream and the Russian Nightmare demonstrates that there was—on occasion—a much greater degree of ideological openness in the NWA than admitted by such theories. Skeptics at the other end of the spectrum, including the "bureaucratic elites" themselves, may still object that professional wrestling is not fair competition, that it fails to conform to a free market model in which individuals rise and fall through their own efforts. These objections are entirely justifiable, but I think they have less to do with wrestling *per se* than with the curious status of freedom in this class-conscious performance art. The culturally privileged must, after all, view professional wrestling in much the same way that the working class views a supposedly competitive economy in the post-Cold War era. Ask the fans of professional wrestling about the economy, and they'll tell you that of course the competition is rigged.

Notes

[1] Sharon Mazer disputes the characterization of professional wrestling as a form of working-class entertainment. According to her, the "mass cultural appeal" of professional wrestling is a sign of the audience's "heterogeneity." See Sharon Mazer, *Professional Wrestling: Sport and Spectacle* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), 3. Depending on how one defines a social class, however, "mass culture" may in fact be aimed at the working class, and the working class may in fact be "heterogeneous." My experience of professional wrestling in North Carolina during the 1980s suggests that professional wrestling was closely, though not exclusively, oriented toward a working-class audience. For further confirmation of this impression, see Winfrey

M. Ruffin, Jr., "Professional Wrestling as a Resource for Social Workers," paper delivered at the Popular Culture Association of the South Annual Conference, October 1988.

[2] Whatever one thinks about the falseness of the spectacle itself, be assured that the passion of the audience is very real. For an insightful personal reminiscence and commentary about professional wrestling, see Bert Randolph Sugar, "Wrestling Match a Morality Play for Our Time," *Advertising Age* (12 August 1985): 28.

[3] Henry Jenkins refers to professional wrestling as "masculine melodrama." Quoted in Sharon Mazer, *Professional Wrestling: Sport and Spectacle*, 18.

[4] "Nikita Koloff," *Pro Wrestling Illustrated* (March 1988): 28.

[5] Roland Barthes, "The World of Wrestling," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 25.

[6] "Nikita Koloff," 28.

[7] Rhodes's celebrated leg injury was a story in itself. Villainous opponents repeatedly attacked the injury, which aroused fan outrage toward the villains and sympathy toward Rhodes himself.

[8] Broadcast 30 January 1988 on WTBS affiliates.

[9] Michael R. Ball, *Professional Wrestling as Ritual Drama in American Popular Culture* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 141.

Advertising Freedom: *Commentary* Magazine and the Cultural Cold War

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As part of the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations' Cold War campaigns to inform the American public of the external and internal threats posed by the Soviet Union and the communist movement, the concept of "freedom" was inserted into the heart of speech as a key pillar of anticommunist discourse. Both administrations and their various allied blocs promoted a regulated discourse of freedom producing a steady proliferation of discourses from a whole series of different institutions both official and non-official, public and private. The concept of freedom was used as ideological ammunition against the USSR and freedom was promoted as propaganda, producing a discursive conflict. Private agencies functioned as particularly important sites in the radiation of these discourses since they masked official efforts and their products could not simply be labeled as "propaganda."

In this essay, I will show how a nonofficial and private agency, in this case *Commentary* magazine, radiated discourses of freedom virtually indistinguishable from those of the United States government as it cooperated in a war of position against the Soviet Union and communism. In order to demonstrate the extent to which the discourse of freedom became hegemonic at this time, I will concentrate particularly on the visualization of freedom displayed in the journal by advertisements for popular products such as Welch's Grape Juice, Ford Motor Cars, and RCA electronics. These materials reveal how private companies consciously and willingly adapted, produced and negotiated discourses of freedom across the pages of popular magazines during the Cold War.

Discourses of freedom were not new to America. They stretched back to the rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, as well as the more recent "Four Freedoms" of FDR. Since the onset of the Cold War, however, discourses of freedom entered a new phase of almost unprecedented usage although they may have drawn upon earlier strategies. The defining cultural moment for this new phase was the Truman Doctrine (delivered 12 March 1947), which represented the "Genesis" of the Cold War. "At the present moment in world history," Truman informed Congress, "nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life."[1] Truman thus established a set of universal structural categories through which the world was to be subsequently

defined and understood. These "ways of life" represented inescapable categories or binary oppositions that simplistically divided the world into two opposing factions: Good/Evil, Christianity/Atheism, Democracy/Totalitarianism, and Freedom/Slavery. The universality of these categories was reinforced by their conspicuous lack of any specificity or historical rootedness: Truman did not explicitly name the Soviet Union as the aggressor, giving his discourse a timelessness and transcendence that reinforced its generality. This discourse soon became the dominant cultural capital that was filtered across and down all sections of American society during the Cold War.

Within this speech, freedom was initially defined as "life free from coercion." Later the actual conditions of a "free" society were outlined: "the will of the majority... representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression."[2] Freedom was also marked by "autonomy" since it was not the duty of the United States to impose freedom, but to enable "free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way."[3] Of course, this was not highly philosophical; it was a definition that was made to conform to the perceived characteristics of American democracy. As Daniel T. Rodgers has put it: "Freedom was America: its refrigerators, its elections, its alliances, its swelling patriotism."[4] This was further heightened by its converse, "totalitarianism," that was characterized by "the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority ... [which] relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms."[5]

The Truman Doctrine insisted that the United States had a responsibility actively to defend and spread (its conception of) freedom throughout the world, *by any means it deemed necessary*. These broad prescriptions for the preservation of freedom, however, required translation into effective policy in response to the launch of a "peace" strategy by the Soviet Union in 1948. This initiative sought to spearhead a worldwide campaign against the US nuclear capability by encouraging European and American intellectuals to join a "peace offensive." Through a series of congresses in Wroclaw, Prague, and Paris as well as the awarding of "Stalin Prizes," the USSR sought to nurture public condemnation of American Cold War foreign policy.[6]

The United States acknowledged the urgent need to counter the Soviet emphasis on "peace." The result was the promotion of "freedom" as propaganda. The National Security Council (NSC) directive 20/4 (1948) had already recommended the "exploit[ation of] the potentialities of psychological warfare...within the Soviet orbit."[7] The policy document NSC 68 (1950) continued this line of thought, providing what Walter Hixson has called a "conceptual framework" similar to the Truman Doctrine.[8] It stated: "we have no choice but to demonstrate the superiority of the idea of freedom by its con-

structive application," for the "idea of slavery can only be overcome" by its "timely and persistent demonstration."[9] It carried on to assert that: "It is only by practical affirmation, abroad as well as at home, of our essential values, that we can preserve our own integrity, in which lies the real frustration of the Kremlin design."[10] Indeed, NSC 68 repeatedly called for "practical" demonstrations of the concept of freedom. It had been implicitly accepted, therefore, that the very idea of freedom itself was a sufficient weapon against Soviet propaganda that had coalesced around the concept of peace. In the following years, therefore, the ideological conflict became a confrontation of discourses couched in terms of "freedom" versus "peace."

NSC 68 emphasized an activist, positivist, and interventionist role for the United States in this offensive. The document constantly called for a projection of the United States' moral and material strength into the wider world. While supporting a "free trade in ideas" at home, it negated the concept abroad. It articulated a "determination if necessary to defend our way of life."[11] It proclaimed the necessity of "practical" affirmation and demonstration abroad of its values and it accepted "the responsibility of world leadership," which this necessitated.[12] This is summed up in its "Political and Psychological" intentions:

> Our overall policy at the present time may be described as one designed to foster a world environment in which the American system can survive and flourish. It therefore rejects the concept of isolation and affirms the necessity of our positive participation in the world community.[13]

Deriving from the firm belief that there can be no competition in ideas, that the only correct way is the American one, NSC 68 called for a rejection of diversity *abroad* (while advocating it at home) and the implantation of a single overriding system. While attacking the Soviet Union for attempting to do the same, the United States hid its fundamental purpose behind a discourse of benevolence, tolerance, and diversity. It spoke of "the marvelous diversity" and "the deep tolerance" of "the free society."[14] What is more, it claimed that free societies even tolerated those who sought to destroy them. According to NSC 68 "the free society does not fear, it welcomes diversity. It derives its strength from its hospitality to antipathetic ideas. It is a market for free trade in ideas."[15] And in a supremely arrogant statement, the document prided itself on the "essential tolerance of our world outlook, our generous and constructive impulses, and the absence of covetousness."[16]

The United States was repeatedly equated with freedom throughout the document. Eventually, the cumulative effect was that, within the parameters of NSC 68, the two were synonyms for one another. In contrast, the USSR was

equated with slavery, a discursive concept deriving from the Truman Doctrine of 1947. Truman had defined totalitarianism/slavery as democracy's opposite. Although he did not directly nor explicitly equate this totalitarian/slave society with the Soviet Union, a public information campaign left the American public in no doubt as to whom he was referring.

NSC 68 firmly located itself within this discourse. From the very outset it left no room for doubt: "There is a basic conflict between the idea of freedom under a government of laws, and the idea of slavery under the grim oligarchy of the Kremlin."[17] The Soviet State "demands total power over all men... without a single exception."[18] "The idea of freedom," therefore, can be mobilized against the USSR because it "is peculiarly and intolerably subversive of the idea of slavery."[19] Indeed, "The existence and persistence of the idea of freedom is a permanent and continuous threat to the foundation of a slave society."[20] The two systems were, as a consequence, "mortally" opposed.[21] NSC 68 continued the discursive speech initiated by the Truman doctrine: America and the Soviet Union are polarized as binary opposites, the two systems were "irreconcilable" and antipathetic.[22] The United States was free while the USSR was enslaved and since freedom can destroy slavery, America can smash the Soviet Union.

Following NSC 68's sweeping review of US diplomacy, a "Campaign of Truth" was instigated. Edward Barrett, Assistant Secretary of State for public affairs, directed this offensive. Barrett proposed "an all-out effort to penetrate the Iron Curtain with our ideas," recommending "a bold new propaganda offensive, perhaps styled 'The Voice of Freedom.'" Eventually the slogan "Campaign of Truth" was adopted and on 20 April 1950, Truman launched it with a call for a "sustained, intensified program to promote the cause of freedom against the propaganda of slavery."[23]

A key part of this Campaign of Truth was the establishment of a public-private network. The Truman Administration sought private partners to assist in its freedom offensive. It is now well known, for example, how the CIA covertly used a host of fronts and dummy foundations such as the Hoblitzelle Foundation and the Kaplan Fund to cover its efforts in the field of psychological warfare.[24] In this way, the United States struggled to mask its official propaganda efforts precisely so that they would not be construed as propaganda. Many private agencies, organizations, and corporations were willingly mobilized in the service of the Cold War. These included the Ford Foundation, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the Jewish Labor Committee, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, and the American Jewish Committee (AJC).

The AJC was very active in the propagation of this "Cultural Cold War." The chairman of its Chicago chapter, Ely M. Aaron, announced: "As a matter

of principle, the AJC should ally itself openly and on the record with every organization and concept which seek the well-being of the people of this country by democratic principles."[25] The Committee accepted its new postwar role of defending democracy with vigour, mobilizing its 14,000 members across 35 chapters nationally as well as its offices abroad in Europe and Latin America.[26] It circulated propagandistic materials with its own funds without official prompting and cooperated with many elements of the government. It demonstrated itself to be overtly loyal, pro-American, and anticommunist, yet sensitive to developments behind the Iron Curtain. The AJC prepared excellent research reports on aspects of Soviet behavior, in particular antisemitism and the Soviet treatment of the Jews. It participated in many anticommunist initiatives such as the Crusade for Freedom in Support of Radio Free Europe, the All-American Conference against Communism, Voice of America, and Pro Deo.[27] In addition, the State Department was interested in the Committee's French publication *Evidences* as a "source of valuable material."[28] In its annual report of 1951, the AJC expressed pride in its level of commitment to "aiding America in its propaganda warfare against Soviet Russia."[29] The Committee, therefore, was a useful ally for the American government.

As the magazine of the American Jewish Committee, *Commentary* was also mobilized as a participant in this effort. The Committee had established *Commentary* in 1945 as "a journal of significant thought and opinion on Jewish affairs and contemporary issues." The magazine theoretically operated under the principle of "editorial freedom" and did not promote any particular sectarian agenda. Since its editorial board was composed of ex-radicals who had abandoned Trotskyism in the 1930s and 40s, many of its writers took a secular, liberal, and anticommunist view toward most subjects. They sought to produce a journal of highbrow thought on a broad range of topics that distinguished it from both the ideas of the masses and what they perceived as the more mediocre elements of middle-class American Jewry. *Commentary* became one of America's most celebrated magazines. It became the premier postwar journal of American Jewry, attracting a readership far wider than its Jewish community of origin. Doubleday editor Barbara Zimmerman noted that although the magazine dealt "with Jewish affairs, it is primarily a magazine of general interest" with an "excellent reputation in this country among the general and not strictly Jewish market."[30] And Milton S. Katz added that "Many Americans in the fifties agreed with *Commentary*'s positions,"that "its articles elicited a heavy and emotional response from various segments of society," and that "its influence clearly extended beyond that of many larger publications."[31]

Like its parent organization, the staff of *Commentary* actively worked to promote the props of the Cultural Cold War. Its editorial staff had emerged from World War II as committed anti-Stalinists and hence no conversion to anticommunism was required. *Commentary*'s editor, Elliot Cohen, commissioned and published many articles that were consistent with the aims of US policy at this time.[32] For example, *Commentary* openly supported the government's case against the Rosenbergs and alleged that appeals for clemency were a communist propaganda trap.[33] *Commentary* was a journal of opinion so favorable to the US government that it was consistently mobilized as part of the freedom campaign. The State Department regularly perused its pages and reprinted its articles for global dissemination. By 1949 the State Department had published and broadcast over Voice of America no less than twenty *Commentary* articles in the German Occupation Zone because, in the words of *Time* magazine, it "so ably stated the position of the democratic world."[34]

Although *Commentary* devoted many of its pages to advancing the cause of freedom, I shall only focus upon its advertisements here to show how the hegemonic discourse of freedom filtered down to concrete levels of everyday life.[35] Advertisements powerfully underlined the magazine's discourses in a visual form. I shall examine several representative examples from the 1950s to demonstrate this process. These advertisements clearly indicate that freedom as a key construct of Cold War discourses was radiated across the pages of *Commentary* magazine.

From the beginning, the Eisenhower Administration used advertising as a key tactic in fighting the Cultural Cold War. Eisenhower and his advisors contrived ways to promote American culture through free trade and consumer goods. The most effective method of achieving this, they felt, was through advertising and displaying a whole range of the most up-to-date products available to the American consumer. Together the United States Information Service and the Advertising Council (a World War II trade group that was formed to help sell war bonds and promote other wartime campaigns) collaborated to produce a guide to advertising in foreign countries entitled *Advertising: A New Weapon in the World-Wide Fight for Freedom*. The guide indicated the value that the Eisenhower Administration placed on advertising.[36]

In 1952, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) ran an advertisement in *Commentary* for its television and radio products with the legend: "Freedom's clear voice goes to sea." The text of the message read:

> When broadcasting Freedom's message to Iron Curtain countries, transmitters must contend with deliberate radio interference, created to 'jam' the air. Aboard the Truth Ship *Courier*, a powerful RCA transmitter fills most of one cargo hold, while a second hold

> contains Diesel generators which produce 1, 500, 000 watts... These people are seeking the Truth, and want to hear it despite a thousand stations built in an effort to keep Freedom's messages from penetrating the Iron Curtain.

In a discursive trend similar to the Truman Doctrine, NSC 68, and the Campaign of Truth, American propaganda was associated with freedom. And in turn, freedom was equated with America, which was radically opposed by the "Iron Curtain." American radio broadcasts were synonymous with the "Truth." Accompanying the text was a picture of a Truth Ship at sea with the explanation: "The USCG Gutter Courier...armed with Truth, not guns...will use its RCA transmitter to beam messages of hope to Iron Curtain countries, and will also be a good-will ambassador to the free nations." This was a clear visual example of the concept that America must fight to demonstrate freedom abroad just as the ship struggles against the waves to deliver its message of truth.

The president of RCA, David Sarnoff, was an energetic participant in the Cold War public-private network. Prior to World War II, Sarnoff had overseen RCA's total conversion to defense production. During the war he offered his services to the military and was appointed Eisenhower's chief of communications. He organized and coordinated all radio communications on the Western Front. In recognition of his service during the war, Sarnoff was named a brigadier general in the US Army. His involvement with government projects did not stop at the end of the war.[37] Indeed, with the onset of the Cold War it deepened, as he submitted regular proposals for fighting communism. He also advised Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberation, whose staff members trained at NBC studios. At his suggestion, Voice of America adopted the sign-off: "This is the Voice of America, for freedom and peace." RCA also cooperated with the United States Information Agency to produce advertising that would sell its products as well as "selling" America. RCA's advertisement, therefore, signifies the relationship between the public and private networks during the Cold War and the discourse that only freedom could achieve peace.[38] This is extended in a further advertisement that appeared in *Commentary* in February 1954. General Sarnoff, as he is now known, is shown operating a transmitter to the fleet units around the world under the guidance of Admiral Robert B. Carney, Chief of Naval Operations.

Another sign of the promotion of freedom in America was manifested in an advertisement for the Ford Motor Company. The text read:

> The American Road is more than a highway that has helped bring prosperity to this country – it is a way of living, wrought out of the character of a people constantly moving forward toward a better life for mankind. Ford Motor Company is dedicated to the Ameri-

> can Road, in the belief that it will lead toward freedom, justice and security for all men.

America was praised for its freedom of movement as signified by a full-page image of the *free*way. The "American Road" was also a sign of the onward and upward progress of its people, which would eventually benefit all of humanity. America was thus exportable, for everyone all over the world could enjoy the technological benefits that its roads could bring. Not only was Ford Motor Company "dedicated to the American Road" as a signifier of freedom, it was also benevolently dedicated to advancing the cause of "freedom" for "all men."

However, the advert contained a conspicuous omission. Automobile advertising in the mid-fifties focused on the image of the car, whether it was in a showroom, an elaborate set, or on the road.[39] The American Road advertisement, in contrast, did not take the car as its central image. Instead, it took a more general approach emphasizing the freeway rather than focusing on a specific product. The full-page depiction of a highway interchange not only reinforced clearly the discursive notion that freedom was America (and its roads), it also presented Ford as a benevolent and tolerant American company more concerned with protecting freedom than with selling its own particular product.

The American Oil Company (Amoco), another corporation connected with the motor industry, radiated similar ideas. Its "Freedom Message" of July 1952 stated: "Singing the Star Spangled Banner isn't enough...work for defense... your country needs you." In this way, Amoco exhorted *Commentary*'s readers and the consumers of its products to the sort of intensified mobilization against the Soviet Union that the Administration believed was necessary to win the Cold War. Again, like Ford, it presented the notion that Amoco was more concerned with the freedom of the nation than with selling oil.

Commentary did not just include advertisements for consumer products. Specifically political appeals also appeared on its pages. One such appeal that appeared in *Commentary* in February 1955 was sponsored by another Cold War enterprise, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom (ACCF). The ACCF was a non-partisan community of intellectuals dedicated to taking "appropriate steps against whatever forces in the present-day world threaten our free culture" and to exposing "the Communist conspiracy and its totalitarian threat to America and other free countries." The ACCF expressed its benevolent mission in terms no different from those articulated by the Truman Doctrine and NSC 68. The ACCF felt it was worthwhile to advertise and request contributions for its activities in *Commentary* magazine. The Committee obviously felt that *Commentary*'s readers were conducive to the ACCF's ideas:

"We," the executive board of the ACCF wrote, "feel we have a special claim on your attention. You would not be a reader of this magazine if you were not committed to the free life of the mind and spirit." Indeed, many of those who signed the appeal edited and wrote for *Commentary*: Elliot Cohen, Daniel Bell, David Riesman, Diana Trilling, and Sidney Hook.[40]

In April of the same year, an advertisement placed by the Crusade for Freedom depicted a graphic image of a fist clutching "Truth Dollars," which were used for "fighting Communism *behind* the Iron Curtain" and to "support Radio Free Europe broadcasts to 70 million freedom hungry people" (Fig. 1). Radio Free Europe (RFE) had been created as an ostensibly private corporation designed to target anticommunist propaganda at Eastern Europe. Although the government continued to fund RFE covertly using unattributed funds, an elaborate fund-raising campaign termed the "Crusade for Freedom" encouraged the notion that it was a genuinely private station.[41]

At the same time, the Welch Grape Juice Company, Inc. ran an advertisement in every issue of *Commentary* entitled "This I Believe." They amounted to a series of quotes on the subject of freedom and liberty from well-known intellectuals and were dubbed a "public service" on behalf of the company. Two in particular advanced the specific cause of the United States in its freedom campaign against the Soviet Union. In July 1954 an excerpt by Adlai E. Stevenson appeared:

> The short of the matter is that the survival of our freedoms, individual and collective, is closely linked to the good name, the private reputation, if you please, of our government. Its preservation is necessary to evoke the loyalties, both at home and abroad, upon which government must make heavy drafts.

The second advertisement, appearing in December 1952, cited Lord Acton's "Essays on Freedom and Power" (1948): "A generous spirit prefers that his country should be poor and weak and of no account but free, rather than powerful, prosperous and enslaved." Thus through its ads for Grape Juice, Welch's reminded its consumers of the ongoing struggle to preserve freedom against the tyranny of the Soviet Union. Again, like the other advertisements, a specific emphasis on a particular product was conspicuous by its absence.

All of the above advertisements in *Commentary* were for products that appealed to all Americans regardless of ethnic origin. As befitting a magazine primarily aimed at a Jewish audience, advertisements also appeared that appealed to specifically Jewish concerns. These adverts fused discourses of Judaism to discourses of freedom. The clearest example of this was one that appeared in April 1954 on behalf of Barricini, a confectionery company (Fig. 2). The header explicitly equated Jewish ritual practice with the concept of

freedom: "PASSOVER holiday of freedom!" it read. Underneath, in terms indistinguishable from the discourses of the Eisenhower Administration, the text stated: "What does Passover mean to the Jew? It means freedom." This freedom represented "an uninterrupted tradition of countless generations." The Jewish discourse of freedom, according to Barricini stores, "means the victory of the spirit over oppression and brutal tyranny," which was explicitly "intertwined" with "the memories of days long past." This advertisement consciously exploited narratives of Jewish tradition and ritual to construct a memory of freedom in Jewish history that echoed those produced by the Truman Doctrine, NSC 68, and the Campaign of Truth.

The text is reinforced by the depiction of a happy, content, and secure family gathered together around the ritual Seder table. The family unit was advanced at that time as the basic building block of containment and the bulwark against communism.[42] It has been pointed out that the Eisenhower Administration was "convinced that the United States would not survive unless the domestic ideal then in force in the nation could be successfully exported to the rest of the world."[43] What is more, the observance of religious traditions was construed to be another method of fighting atheistic communism since the Truman Doctrine positioned America against godless atheism. In addition, the abundance of food displayed on the table projected the notion of freedom from want and hunger, especially since the goods advertised were luxury items and not commodities (Chocolate Wafer Matzos; Macaroons; After-Seder Mint Leaves; Paradise Fruits; "Barri" holiday's Seder Record and Passover Candy). Nonetheless, the visual emphasis on the family unit rather than on the advertised products reinforced the notion that Barricini was more concerned with protecting the family unit as a defense against communism than with merely selling its candy.

During the Cultural Cold War, therefore, hegemonic discourses of freedom were produced, consumed, and negotiated by many private and public agencies. The discourses achieved a position of hegemony to such an extent that they even began to appear in advertising. The motives of the advertisers were many and complex. In the case of RCA, Ford, Amoco, and Welsh's Grape Juice, the advertisements signified the willingness of these corporations to assist in the cultural struggle against the Soviet Union and the extent to which they believed in American capitalism and consumerism. These companies were not willing dupes merely passively reflecting hegemonic discourses. Many of these corporations' ideas were adopted by the Eisenhower Administration at their suggestion, as I have shown with the example of RCA. In addition, these particular companies were also involved in government initiatives.

At the same time, however, there was also an element of business acumen. These discourses of freedom were in circulation throughout American society

during the Cultural Cold War. It is unsurprising, therefore, to find them used in advertising as they represented the latest trend in marketing strategies. Moreover, *Commentary*'s readership was regarded as intelligent, aware of international events, and thus conducive to such selling techniques. For example, Viceroy rationalized that by advertising its cigarettes in *Commentary,* it would reach *Commentary*'s intellectual and highbrow audience.[44] As the ACCF put it: "You would not be a reader of this magazine if you were not committed to the free life of the mind and spirit."[45] In the case of Barricini candy, this seems to have been the motivation behind their conscious use of freedom and Judaism.

Through its advertisements, therefore, *Commentary* was not only able to reflect discourses of freedom aligned with hegemonic positions, but also to promote them as well. Consequently, freedom was privileged and naturalized by its setting in everyday, mundane contexts. Freedom was advertised as an indispensable commodity inextricably linked with other products: grape juice, cars, roads, radios, sweets, and televisions. As a highbrow, intellectual magazine, *Commentary* was somewhat unique in this respect. While similar journals such as *Partisan Review*, *The New Leader*, and *Encounter* engaged discourses of freedom in written terms, *Commentary* was almost alone in upholding them visually as well. This use of freedom was evident beyond magazines. As new research has shown, Disney was active in deploying discourses of freedom within its newly opened theme park, Disneyland.[46] Thus, these advertisements within *Commentary* can be fitted into a larger framework during the Cultural Cold War. The Eisenhower Administration believed that the United States had a holy duty to export freedom, democracy, and capitalism abroad. Consequently, advertising freedom became a key strategy implemented by the United States Information Service and the Advertising Council during these years. At world and international trade fairs, American corporations aggressively promoted consumer products and the ideal of progress and material abundance. In doing so, they not only hoped to win the struggle against communism, but also to convert others to the American way.[47] Overall, freedom meant capitalism because only capitalism could provide the freedom to consume.

Appendixes

(Fig. 1)

FIGHT COMMUNISM

with "Truth Dollars"

Join the millions of Americans who are fighting Communism *behind* the Iron Curtain with "Truth Dollars". . . dollars that support Radio Free Europe broadcasts to 70 million freedom hungry people. Send your "Truth Dollars" to *Crusade for Freedom, c/o your local Postmaster, today.*

(Fig. 2)

PASSOVER

holiday of freedom!

What does Passover mean to the Jew? It means freedom. It means the warm glow and the pride and glory of an uninterrupted tradition of countless generations. It means victory of the spirit over oppression and brutal tyranny. It means the joy of family and all those near and dear gathered around the festive Seder table, and the memories of days long past intertwined with the wide-eyed wonder of the youngest member of the family . . .

To help you enjoy every moment of this most joyous holiday of all, the Barricini family has prepared its greatest Passover assortment — *Selected Miniatures for Passover — a "Seder" in itself; Chocolate Wafer Matzos; Macaroons; After-Seder Mint Leaves; Paradise Fruits; "Barri" Holiday's Seder Record and Passover Candy* — the perfect Afikomen gift for every child; and many other delicacies. *Most of the candies are also PAREVE.*

Barricini stores are located throughout the New York area, Newark and Philadelphia. Visit your nearest Barricini store today or write for Passover brochure to:

Barricini®

22-19 41st Ave.,
Long Island City 1, N.Y.
or phone Miss Blanche:
STillwell 6-2200

כשר לפסח

All Barricini candies are made under the strict personal supervision of RABBI HERSCH

Notes

[1] Harry S. Truman, Speech before Congress (12 March 1947), extracted in Martin McCauley, *The Origins of the Cold War* (London and New York: Longman, 1983), 121.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Daniel T. Rodgers, *Contested Truths: Keywords in American Politics Since Independence* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 217.

[5] Truman, Speech before Congress, 121.

[6] Robbie Lieberman, "'Does That Make Peace a Bad Word?': American Responses to the Communist Peace Offensive, 1949-1950," *Peace & Change* 17 (1992): 198-228.

[7] "NSC 20/4: Note by the Executive Secretary on U.S. Objectives With Respect to the USSR to Counter Soviet Threats to U.S. Security" (24 November 1948) in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1949), Vol. 1, 665.

[8] Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998), 14.

[9] "NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security" (14 April 1950), reprinted in *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68*, ed. Ernest R. May (Boston: Bedford, 1993), 32.

[10] Ibid., 29.

[11] Ibid., 26.

[12] Ibid., 29, 30, 32.

[13] Ibid., 40.

[14] Ibid., 27.

[15] Ibid., 28.

[16] Ibid., 42.

[17] Ibid., 27.

[18] Ibid., 28.

[19] Ibid., 27.

[20] Ibid., 28.

[21] Ibid., 29.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 13-14.

[24] Christopher Lasch, "The Cultural Cold War: A Short History of the Congress for Cultural Freedom," in his *The Agony of the American Left: One Hundred Years of Radicalism* (London: Pelican, 1973), 64-111. According to Thomas W. Braden, the person responsible for supervising the CIA's cultural activities in the 1950s, the rules

for using such fronts were: "Use legitimate, existing organizations; disguise the extent of American interest; protect the integrity of the organization by not requiring it to support every aspect of official American policy." See his "I'm Glad the CIA Is 'Immoral,' " *Saturday Evening Post* (20 May 1967), 14.

[25] Ely M. Aaron, quoted in *Ways to Human Freedom: 40th Annual Report of the AJC, 1946* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1947), 101.

[26] *44th Annual Report of the AJC, 1950* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1951), 35. These figures are drawn from the *42nd Annual Report of the AJC, 1948* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1949), 70.

[27] For a history of the first fifty years of the AJC, see Noami W. Cohen, *Not Free to Desist: The AJC 1906-1966* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1972).

[28] Seymour J. Rubin, letter to Simon Segal, 15 February 1954, AJC Records, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, RG 347 GEN-12, Box 139, France: Rosenberg Case Reaction FO-EUR, 52-54, 3.

[29] Irving M. Engel, quoted in *45th Annual Report of the AJC, 1951* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1952), 33.

[30] Barbara Zimmerman, quoted in Ralph Melnick, *The Stolen Legacy of Anne Frank: Meyer Levin, Lillian Hellman, and the Staging of the Diary* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 15.

[31] Milton S. Katz, "*Commentary* and the American Jewish Intellectual Experience," *Journal of American Culture* 3:1 (Spring 1980): 158.

[32] See for example, Irving Kristol, "'Civil Liberties,' 1952 – Study in Confusion: Do We Defend Our Rights by Protecting Communists?" *Commentary* 13 (1952), 228-236.

[33] See Robert Warshow, "The 'Idealism' of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," *Commentary* (November, 1953); Lucy Dawidowicz, "Antisemitism and the Rosenberg Case: The Latest Communist Propaganda Trap," *Commentary* 14 (July 1952), 41-45.

[34] *Time*, 29 January 1951.

[35] For a treatment of *Commentary*'s discourse of freedom in a written rather than visual format please see my unpublished Ph.D. thesis, "Struggling for Freedom: Arthur Miller, the *Commentary* Community, and the Cultural Cold War" (University of Birmingham, 1998).

[36] Robert H. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).

[37] Erik Barnouw, *The Image Empire: A History of Broadcasting in the United States, Volume III – From 1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 145.

[38] As part of its discourse of freedom, the United States denigrated the USSR's discourse of "peace" as empty rhetoric. It was noted that "the 'peace policy' of the Soviet Union, described at a Party Congress as 'a more advantageous form of fighting capitalism,' is a device to divide and immobilize the non-Communist world, and the peace the Soviet Union seeks is the peace of total conformity to Soviet policy." See

"NSC 68," 28. According to Lieberman, the placing of the word "peace" in quotation marks "suggested that the words were disingenuous, not representing any serious concern for peace." See Lieberman, "Does That Make Peace a Bad Word?", 205.

[39] James L. Baughman, "The Frustrated Persuader: Fairfax M. Cone and the Edsel Advertising Campaign, 1957-59," in *The Other Fifties: Interrogating Midcentury American Icons*, ed. Joel Foreman (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 36.

[40] *Commentary* 19 (February 1955), no pp.

[41] Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 59-60.

[42] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).

[43] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 1.

[44] Martin Mayer, *Madison Avenue U.S.A.: The Inside Story of American Advertising* (London: The Bodley Head, 1958), 148.

[45] *Commentary* 19 (February 1955), no pp.

[46] See Emma Lambert, "'Don't Fight It, You Can't Whip Mickey Mouse': Disneyland's Cold War 1955-1959" (unpublished M.Phil diss., University of Birmingham, 1998).

[47] See Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 1-47.

Southern Fundamentalism and Anticommunism At the Beginning of the Cold War: the Controversy between J. Frank Norris and Louie D. Newton

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In 1946, after touring the Soviet Union to see how its leaders used American relief, Louie D. Newton, President of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), offered a few words of praise concerning religious life in Russia. Newton suggested, "Religiously we should regard Russia as our great ally. It is a virgin field for freedom ... because Russia never knew freedom of religion until the present regime." Moreover, Newton found some similarities in principles between Baptists and Russians: "The Baptists stand for the same thing as the Russian Government—renouncement of resistance to coercion in matters of belief."[1]

Eight months later, the renegade Ft. Worth fundamentalist J. Frank Norris attacked Newton as an "appeaser of Moscow."[2] He hoped not only to score some points concerning Newton's worthiness as leader of the SBC and, by general association, cast suspicion upon the SBC's leadership, but also to tie his ongoing fundamentalist crusade against the Convention to the rising tide of anticommunism at the beginning of the Cold War. Furthermore, Norris's assault gained some extended regional notice because Norris sued Atlanta Constitution editor Ralph McGill for libel concerning a McGill editorial criticizing Norris's attacks on Newton. This incident shows how the public's perception of Russia began changing from that of wartime ally to Cold War adversary. Additionally, it reveals how one southern fundamentalist used anticommunism as a weapon in denominational politics in his war against what he saw as theological liberalism in the SBC. Finally, Norris's attacks on Newton foreshadow the accusatory methods that politicians would use later in the decade to tar the reputations of their opponents.

Fundamentalism as a movement within American Protestantism had its origins in the evangelicalism of the late nineteenth-century northern cities. It represented an attempt to defend certain doctrines against the effort to restate traditional Protestant orthodoxy in modern, theologically liberal terms and in light of historical and scientific findings.[3] The most important of the doctrines

fundamentalists defended was the inerrancy of the Bible, that is, the idea that the Bible is without error not only in what it teaches concerning sin and salvation, but also in its statements on history and science. Additionally, fundamentalists worried that liberal denial of miracles and stress on the social gospel undermined what they saw as the Bible's central message: Christ's death on the cross providing salvation for lost humanity.

The defense took two forms in the 1920s. One aspect was a battle within denominations between fundamentalists and liberals over the definition of doctrinal standards and the control of denominational institutions like seminaries and mission boards. The other area of conflict was over the teaching of evolution in public schools, a fight which symbolized to fundamentalists their effort to restore American culture to its Protestant roots.[4] Fundamentalists failed to achieve their goals in both areas and left the mainline denominations, in some cases splitting individual congregations. During the 1930s, their movement fragmented into overlapping networks of churches, missionary organizations, and Bible colleges, with no unifying organization or institution.[5] Except for the evolution controversy, southern Protestants watched from the sidelines as fundamentalist strife racked northern denominations. In part southerners believed that their denominations were orthodox and that regional institutional divisions kept the disease in the North.[6]

Some southern Protestants did not read the evidence in quite the same way, and one was J. Frank Norris, pastor of Ft. Worth's First Baptist Church. For most of a career that stretched from the 1910s into the 1950s, Norris waged an unrelenting attack on the SBC for what he viewed as deviation from traditional doctrines and practices. His attack on Newton was only one campaign out of many, but its significance lay in his use of a nontheological weapon, anticommunism, and in the effort to link his campaign to broader cultural and political trends.

Of the three largest southern denominations, the Southern Baptists experienced the most fundamentalist agitation, in large measure due to the presence of J. Frank Norris.[7] He regularly assaulted the Southern Baptist Convention and its schools in his newspaper The Searchlight (later called The Fundamentalist). Though not ignoring theological liberalism and evolution in the 1920s, Norris's most potent issue for recruiting followers out of the SBC for the fundamentalist movement was the growing bureaucratization of the convention, which diminished the autonomy of the local church.[8] His efforts won him supporters in the Southwest but also alienated Baptists in other regions who doubted his charges of liberalism in the convention and questioned the dangers he saw in the growth of denominational boards. The limited range of Norris's appeal can be measured in his troubled relations with other Baptists in Texas. By 1924, city, county, and state Baptist associations had excluded Norris from

attending their meetings due to his censorious attacks on other pastors and non-cooperation with SBC programs.[9] A series of scandals also undercut Norris's appeal. Twice, in 1912 and 1929, fire destroyed the sanctuary of the First Baptist Church. Rumors circulated that Norris set the fires in order to collect insurance to finance the construction of a larger building. A jury found Norris innocent of arson the first time, and prosecutors filed no charges in the second case. In 1927, Norris was acquitted of charges that he murdered a man in his church study. Norris did not deny killing the man but pleaded self-defense, even though the man was unarmed.[10] By this time, most Southern Baptists had adopted the attitude articulated earlier in the decade by A. T. Robertson: "We just pay no attention to him and go on with our work."[11]

In the 1920s, Norris failed to build a Southern Baptist constituency under his leadership within the northern interdenominational fundamentalist movement. He attempted to recruit Southern Baptists for the interdenominational World Christian Fundamentals Association and the Baptist Bible Union (BBU), but the prominence of Norris in these organizations seemed to limit their appeal, and some Southern Baptists saw a sinister purpose in Norris's efforts. According to F. S. Groner, editor of the Baptist Standard, Norris's purpose in sponsoring this "cult" (the BBU) was to create a "new denomination" that he and his fellow "reactionaries ... could boss till their heart's content."[12]

During the 1930s, Norris invested more of his time and energy into trying to expand his fundamentalist constituency by developing a northern base and into building an organization that avoided the faults he found with the Convention.[13] His first step in enlarging his following was taken in 1935 when he assumed the pastorate of Temple Baptist Church in Detroit while continuing to lead his Texas congregation.[14] Then in 1938 he reorganized his Premillennial Baptist Missionary Fellowship into the World Fundamental Baptist Missionary Fellowship. He moved the Fellowship's offices to Chicago and broadened the scope of the Fellowship's activities to include promoting evangelistic efforts in North America, educating pastors, and opposing liberalism. Within a few months, over two hundred churches joined the Fellowship. Additionally, in 1939 Norris started a Bible institute in his Ft. Worth church, and the school became the Bible Baptist Seminary in 1944.[15] Norris was well on his way to giving his opposition to the Convention a permanent institutional structure.[16]

During these years, Norris began offering a sustained commentary in his sermons and newspapers about the threat of communism to Christianity and the American way of life.[17] Though Norris had preached against communism before 1935, his assuming the pastorate of Temple Baptist represented a significant turning point in his consideration of communism. Several factors heightened Norris's sensitivity. For example, the Northern Baptist Convention's emphasis on the Social Gospel sounded suspiciously communistic to Norris's

ears. Also the labor unrest Norris saw among Detroit's auto workers looked like a communist-inspired threat to capital. Perhaps most significant, Norris fell under the spell of some of Detroit's leading industrialists, and, according to Barry Hankins, "the allure of these friendships was too much for Norris's ego."[18] Norris called for typically fundamentalist measures to combat the communist threat: evangelistic efforts and prayer for the Second Coming of Christ. But he went beyond this general call to meet specific challenges. He charged, for example, that communists sought to undermine American society and political institutions by infiltrating American churches and universities. He believed that the process had already begun and was evident in the activities of the leadership of the Northern Baptist Convention. For this reason, he led the members of Temple Baptist into voting to withdraw from the Convention. He further suggested that universities had the duty to fire professors who espoused communist ideology.

Communism represented such a peril for a variety of reasons. Its collectivist ideal threatened American individualism; its espousal of racial equality challenged Jim Crow; its advocacy of state ownership of the means of production undermined the right to private property; and most important of all, its atheism represented a secular version of theological liberalism that jeopardized the vitality of American churches. So great was the danger that Norris set aside his virulent anti-Catholicism to recommend cooperation with Roman Catholics to fight the communist menace.

During World War II, Norris focused on combating fascism without commenting on American aid to communist Russia, perhaps accepting the necessity of this alliance to defeat Germany.[19] After 1945, however, and under the influence of the Cold War, Norris resumed his assault, warning now not only of a communist threat within America, but of the external dangers represented by an aggressive Soviet Union and China.

This renewed postwar crusade against communism, however, did not distract Norris from his campaign against the SBC nor from his efforts to recruit new members to his organizations. One of Norris's favorite tactics was to try to discredit SBC leadership with the goal of convincing Southern Baptists to leave the Convention. One of his best opportunities to strike out at the Convention, and to combine that battle with his efforts to expose communist influence within American institutions, came following the war when the SBC President Louie Newton offered a few mild words of commendation concerning the religious situation in Russia.[20]

Born in 1892 and raised in rural eastern Georgia, Louie D. Newton took an unusual path to the pastorate. After earning his bachelor's degree at Mercer University and a Master's from Columbia University but having no theological training, he worked for Georgia Baptists in a variety of ways in the 1910s and

1920s. He began by teaching history at Mercer from 1913 to 1917. Next he directed publicity for an effort to raise money from Georgians for the Convention, and then he edited for most of the 1920s the Christian Index, the newspaper of the Georgia Baptist Convention. Called and ordained in April 1929, to lead the Druid Hills Baptist Church in a wealthy Atlanta suburb, Newton enlarged the scope of his work by holding several offices in the Convention bureaucracy as well as serving as Secretary in the Baptist World Alliance. In May 1946, the messengers to the annual meeting of the SBC elected Newton their President, the youngest man to serve in that office.[21]

Newton had only been President of the Southern Baptist Convention for a few days when he learned that he had been invited to be its representative on a summer tour of Russia sponsored by the American Society for Russian Relief.[22] During his twenty-five days in the Soviet Union, in addition to observing how Russians used American relief and conferring with Soviet officials on the people's needs, he met with Baptist pastors in nine different cities and preached in their churches.[23] The pastors in Moscow told him that "we are now enjoying a measure of freedom unknown by the Baptists in all the years of our witness in Russia" and that "we are free to preach what we believe."[24] The pastors may have been exaggerating, but it is true that during the war Joseph Stalin had modified the anti-religious policy of the Soviet government. Offering a "tactical compromise,"[25] he had permitted the appointment of the first Patriarch of the Orthodox Church since the Bolshevik Revolution, had allowed churches to reopen, and had encouraged the creation of the All Union Council of Evangelical/Baptists. The latter step was so significant that Walter Sawatsky has described it as marking "the birth of Soviet Protestantism."[26] Thus, Newton's visit occurred when religious life in the Soviet Union was freer than at any other time during Stalin's reign, and these conditions may account for Newton's perception of religious liberty in Russia. He also met with Stalin, giving him a pocket New Testament in English. Upon his return to America, Newton sent a Russian version with the inscription, "From one Georgian to another Georgian."[27]

Based on these experiences, Newton made the suggestions noted earlier about regarding Russia as "our great ally" and describing the country as "a virgin field for freedom," particularly in matters of religion. Additionally, he told a crowd of 3,500 Baptists gathered in Atlanta's Municipal Auditorium that "the Soviet Government has at last recognized that religion is a vital thing" and that it was "smart enough to grant what appears to be complete freedom of worship."[28] Time was reasonably generous in suggesting that Newton's remarks resulted from his "holy innocence,"[29] while some mainstream Southern Baptists sought to dissociate the SBC from them. Frank Tripp of Montgomery, Alabama, told Time that Newton was "not authorized to speak as a representa-

tive of the Convention but ... has a perfect right to express himself as an individual."[30]

Newton, though, had several defenders, and their comments reveal that the hardline, Cold War antagonism toward Russia had not completely formed by the summer of 1946. Tripp's hometown newspaper, the Montgomery Advertiser, criticized those who had accused Newton of defending communism and supported Newton's privilege of free speech. In an interesting query, the editor wondered, "Are we approaching a state of mind in the United States which will permit no comment considered friendly or favorable to Russia?" The lesson the editor drew from Newton's ordeal was that it would "intimidate and silence any report on Russia that happens to interpret the people there as halfway decent and the possible sharers of a world at peace."[31] In a letter to the Editor of the Christian Index, Carl Bennett of Georgia's Wesleyan College argued that Newton was not "pro-communist" but

> pro-humanity. If he did not exploit our fears of an admittedly totalitarian regime, perhaps it was because he was more interested in telling us what every American needs to know and to keep in mind; that the Russians, first of all before being communists, are people, that they have known pain and heartache and suffering magnified beyond our experiences in the war, and that they have aspirations for the same peace we are working and praying for.[32]

Newton's words, though, were too easy a mark for Norris to pass up, and, perhaps sensing a division he could exploit, Norris called for Newton to resign his office.[33] But he misplayed his hand by trying to force the issue at the next annual convention held in St. Louis in May 1947. Renting an auditorium for the same days as the Southern Baptist meetings, Norris planned to hold rallies and preach in a counter-convention.[34] Moreover, he had a special surprise for Newton and alerted the press to attend a pre-Convention session where Newton would report on his Russian trip.[35] As Newton rose to speak, Norris began shouting out a list of questions designed to embarrass Newton and to challenge his loyalty to America.[36] He questioned Newton's description of Soviet religious freedom, pointing out that the state owned all church property, sent spies into church services, and forbade criticism of the government. Under these circumstances, yelled Norris, "how then can there be religious freedom?"[37] Drowned out by congregational singing, Norris renewed his harassment at the end of the hymn. By this time, police were on the scene and Norris retreated, claiming that he had successfully exposed Newton and other Southern Baptist leaders as "appeasers of Moscow."[38]

Rallying to Newton's defense was Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution.[39] In a May 8 editorial, he called Norris "a Ku Klux yelper and a loud

mouth shouter in many demagogic political and hate rallies" and denounced as ridiculous Norris's accusations that Newton was sympathetic to communism. Knowing Newton through his ministry at the Druid Hills church, McGill suggested that Newton may have been duped by the Russians into making his "naive" comments but that Newton was no "appeaser." McGill reviewed Norris's career, incorrectly locating his church in Austin and suggesting that Norris's attacks were motivated by his desire to become president of the Convention. Calling him a "pistol-toting divine," McGill reminded his readers of Norris's murder trial. McGill concluded by noting his regret in not being able to attend the Convention and "to shout with the ministers."[40]

Disturbed and angered by McGill's characterizations, Norris responded, first writing to accuse McGill of including false statements then cryptically warning that "you will hear from me again."[41] Within a week, a Fort Worth District Attorney indicted McGill for criminal libel, but, on the advice of his Atlanta lawyer Samuel Hewlett, Norris did not aggressively pursue the charges. However, he did authorize Hewlett to file a civil libel suit.[42] By the end of the summer of 1947, Hewlett had negotiated an agreement that McGill would publish an apology and retraction in return for Norris dropping the criminal complaint and any claims for monetary damages.[43] Norris did not indicate his approval until the following February, so the retraction appeared in the 20 March 1948 edition of the Constitution.[44] Apparently Norris was more upset with McGill's characterization of him as a gun-bearing minister than with the comments linking him to the Klan. The only retraction and apology in the column concerned the "pistol-toting divine" remark. "There is no evidence," McGill wrote, "that Dr. Norris carried or 'packed' a pistol... The Constitution retracts that statement and regrets it."[45] Pleased that Newton's hometown news paper had published his accusations concerning Newton's procommunist leanings, Norris called his $500 lawyer fee "the best investment I ever made."[46]

Little evidence can be mustered to suggest that this incident had much effect on realigning factions among Baptists in the South or persuading Southern Baptists to leave the Convention. The results, nonetheless, are instructive for understanding Norris's inability to influence Convention affairs through an anticommunist crusade and for studying the reflection of American society's emerging anticommunist consensus in the SBC. Norris's efforts failed for two reasons: distrust of the messenger and disbelief in the message. Indicating his desire to take advantage of the disaffection with Newton he saw among Southern Baptists, in April 1947 Norris predicted, "We are winning a most glorious war among Southern Baptists. This fight at St. Louis will bring a thousand churches into our Fellowship."[47] Thus, if Norris intended his performance at the convention to rouse opposition to Newton by embarrassing him and so deny him the customary second term as the Convention's president, he mis-

read the mood of the Convention. His effort failed as Newton easily won re-election.[48]

To Norris, the vote demonstrated the apathy of the rank and file Southern Baptist pastors to the issues before the Convention. Writing to E. P. Alldredge, he observed,

> But the most serious thing of that 23,000 [orthodox Southern Baptist pastors] is their absolute indifference. Proof of their indifference is that when Louie Newton was out with his appeasement campaign for Russia, not a one opened their [sic] chops. They told me privately that they were with me and then turned around and voted to elect him.[49]

Perhaps the vote was more a response to the character of the messenger than an indication of apathy to the message. Harold Frey, an observer at the 1947 convention for the northern liberal newspaper Christian Century, believed that Norris's attacks "solidified" Newton's support so that he won by an "overwhelming vote."[50] Furthermore, Convention pastors did not seem much influenced by Norris's attempt to capitalize on McGill's retraction. Norris printed enough copies of the column to send to every Baptist pastor in the country, some 35-40,000, but the effort seemed to do little more than confirm the recipient's predisposition. Writing to ask Norris to send 500 extra copies, a Texas pastor proclaimed that "this retraction is the greatest blow Louie Newton and his followers could receive," while a Charlotte pastor asked for 1,000 copies, declaring, "Truly, this is V-C Day for Fundamental Baptist[s]."[51] Most Southern Baptists pastors probably threw Norris's mailing into the trash.[52]

Perhaps a more significant factor than Southern Baptists' misgivings about Norris's motives was their skepticism about the content of the accusations. First, they did not accept characterization of Newton as an "appeaser of Moscow," and second, the political and intellectual climate that created the opportunity for Norris's attack had not shifted enough so that his efforts would be effective. In just a few years, some politicians, like Richard Nixon and Joseph McCarthy, would find that charging their opponents with being procommunist or even not sufficiently anticommunist would win a following and elections. Investigations like those conducted by the House Un-American Activities Committee ruined careers when witnesses tried to defend their First Amendment rights. By the early 1950s, accusers did not need proof. Innuendo and half truth were sufficient to convict.[53] But in the spring of 1947, Southern Baptists demanded more than Norris's charges to convince them of Newton's communist sympathies.

Newton's contributions to the Christian Index make clear that he was not procommunist but rather was primarily concerned with the opportunity to preach

the Gospel to the Russian people. Writing a column called "This Changing World" and occasionally contributing editorials, Newton commented on a variety of public issues, including politics and foreign policy.[54] The dangers of communism was one theme, but Newton distinguished between the ideology and its followers, condemning the former as a threat to Christianity while expressing sympathy for the latter who needed to hear the Gospel. Newton feared that Cold War tensions would end what he believed was an opportunity to evangelize the Russian people.[55] In one column, he suggested that American interests would be better served if policy makers tried "to understand Russia rather than build up a case against Russia."[56] Understanding rather than confrontation, Newton believed, would lead to an opening to preach the Gospel to the Russian people. Undergirding Newton's comments was his concern that Russians were being duped by the false promises of communism. Discussing a secular columnist's description of communism as a religion, Newton claimed that this commentary vindicated his analysis of what he saw on his Russian trip:

> The challenge here implied is to Christianity, which is exactly what I have been trying to say since my visit to Russia last year. Communism is not the answer—Christianity is the answer.[57]

Newton's concern for missionary opportunities reflected the general tendency of Southern Baptists to evaluate activities according to their evangelistic potential. Thus, the immediate postwar years saw two major SBC campaigns for European relief, one a 1946 effort to raise $3.5 million for aid, and a second in late 1947 and early 1948 as a part of the Baptist World Alliance's attempt to gather "clothes for one million people and $1 million for food" to sustain Europeans during the winter.[58] Southern Baptist leaders justified involvement as concrete expression of both Christian charity and of the Gospel people needed to hear for their souls' benefit.[59] For example, Duke McCall, executive secretary of the SBC, reported that a German Baptist pastor said that his people "need practical Christian help" and that such assistance would aid in reaching Germans "for Christ."[60] Newton endorsed the participation of Southern Baptists in the Baptist World Alliance campaign, assuring his readers that their contributions to this program would be used to sustain fellow Baptists.[61] Both efforts were very successful. In a little more than three months, Southern Baptists raised over $2 million of the $3.5 million and within another two months raised the entire amount.[62] In the first 15 days of November 1947, the SBC relief center in New Orleans received over 80,000 pounds of clothes, and material continued to pour in through the end of the year.[63]

Interestingly, the coverage of these efforts in Baptist papers lacked a discussion of the potential the relief had for preventing the spread of communism.

Leaders called the Southern Baptist rank and file to participate for religious not political reasons. Occasionally, a few leaders reminded their readers of the connection. In the same article in which McCall noted that relief could aid in evangelizing Germans, he also noted that the troubled circumstances in England created the potential for revolution and warned that "if England falls, all western Europe drops into the lap of Communism."[64] Such comments were just enough to remind readers of what they had learned from the secular press. Thus, SBC leaders did not need to make explicit anticommunist appeals to support the relief efforts because the secular press had clearly made the connection. Churchill's Iron Curtain speech, Truman's call for aid to Turkey and Greece, the coup in Czechoslovakia, the effort to force Russian troops out of Iran, the success of communists in China, and the development of the Marshall Plan were but a few of the events that the press and politicians used to remind Americans of the communist threat and of the necessity of American involvement in world affairs. The SBC relief campaigns thus became a means for a concerned Southern Baptist to act not only out of religious principles but also for political reasons. Which motive was paramount for an individual contributor is impossible to determine, but this circumstance offers another factor to consider in understanding the failure of Norris's attack on Newton. Southern Baptists could interpret their donations to relief efforts as one part of the denomination's contribution to stemming the tide of communist advance and could view the endorsement of these efforts by leaders like Newton as evidence of his anticommunist credentials.

For Norris, this episode was merely one part of his anticommunist crusade and his campaign against the SBC. That his efforts this time seemed to have little impact did not deter him from making other attacks in the few remaining years of his life. In the summer of 1952, while preaching at a youth rally in Florida, Norris had a heart attack and died.[65] After his term as SBC President, Newton continued to serve the denomination in several offices but focused his attention on leading the Druid Hills congregation until his retirement in 1968. He also resumed his campaign against alcohol, becoming a thorn in the side of Atlanta mayors for their lax enforcement of liquor control laws.[66] But Newton remained typically Southern Baptist throughout the rest of his life in viewing world affairs, including the Cold War and communism, in terms of the prospects and obstacles they presented for evangelism. He died in 1986 at age 94 after a bout with pneumonia.[67]

That public opinion in the immediate postwar years underwent a radical shift in its perspective on Russia and its communist leaders was evident in many areas of American society. Not surprisingly, religion reflected this change. This emphasis is not to suggest that religious leaders merely absorbed political trends and did not contribute to shaping those trends. Clearly, Norris and

Newton's opinions helped mold the attitudes of their followers, but measuring the extent of that influence is beyond the scope of this essay. However, it might be worth noting in broad outline some of the ways religion contributed to the emerging Cold War consensus. As early as 1947, a Gallup poll reported that seventy-two percent of respondents believed that a stated goal of communism was to destroy Christianity and that seventy-seven percent denied that a good Christian could be a member of the communist party.[68] These figures suggest that a general religious anticommunism existed in American public opinion which politicians and other leaders might tap for support. Furthermore, religion played a central role in America's self-definition. Not only did Americans during the Cold War claim to be democratic, free, equal, and open, but also religious, unlike the atheistic communists in Russia. In 1954, that avowal become official when Congress added "under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance and ordered that "In God We Trust" appear on American money.[69]

The controversy between Norris and Newton was but one small episode in the emergence of an anticommunist consensus, yet it affords the opportunity to analyze the transformation of public opinion that occurred. In general outline, Norris's tactics anticipated those of politicians like Nixon, McCarthy and other redbaiters where accusation was sufficient for conviction. That Norris's attack on Newton failed to dislodge him from the presidency of the SBC was due in large measure to the distrust most Southern Baptists had of Norris. But his failure may also have come from the fact that broader cultural attitudes had not shifted so far that charges of being soft on communism would ruin a career. Norris clearly hoped that accusing Newton of being sympathetic to communism would discredit Newton and win for Norris a small victory in denominational politics. That he failed may suggest that he was ahead of his time.

Finally, this incident furnishes the chance to consider the connection between fundamentalism and anticommunism. Norris was a fundamentalist, and his primary interests were religious. That his rhetoric and activities regularly rose to extremes was due in part to his personality and desire for publicity, but also to his patriotism. For Norris, as for most fundamentalists, the United States was a Christian nation, and a nineteenth-century evangelical Protestantism was a key element in its foundation. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the development of a number of challenges to this orthodoxy, not the least of which was theological liberalism. For fundamentalists like Norris, the threat liberalism represented was not just to religious faith but to the survival of America. Over the course of the twentieth century, Norris came to see communism as a secular version of liberalism, with its atheism a direct threat to the Christian foundation of the nation. Norris and his fundamentalist allies fought a holy war to defend that which made America great in their eyes and to attack that which threatened this foundation. The Cold War raised the stakes so that

even the gentle words of praise that Louie Newton offered could not be allowed to pass without comment.

In some ways, Newton represented a more invidious threat in Norris's estimation than a card-carrying party member because Newton's position as a religious leader made his opinions all the more dangerous. Newton was a wolf in sheep's clothing, leading astray millions of Southern Baptists. That Newton was neither liberal in belief nor procommunist did not matter to Norris. Fundamentalists after Norris continued to make this connection between liberal theology and communist doctrine so that to be a fundamentalist was by definition to be fervently anticommunist.[70]

Notes

[1] Quoted in "Innocent Abroad," *Time*, 26 August 1946, 68.

[2] Quoted in "St. Louis Blues," *Time*, 19 May 1947, 70.

[3] The best discussion of fundamentalism's origins is George M. Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1875-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). This theological liberalism treated the Bible as simply an ancient manuscript not divinely inspired, doubted the reality of miracles, emphasized the ethical teachings of the Bible, and applied the message of salvation to society's sins. Standard studies of liberalism include Kenneth Cauthen, *The Impact of American Religious Liberalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962) and William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976).

[4] In *The Divided Mind of Protestant America 1880-1930* (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1982),107-135, Ferenc Szasz has the best explanation of the connection between the two campaigns arguing that William Jennings Bryan captured fundamentalists for his crusade against evolution while fundamentalists turned to anti-evolutionism as they were losing their denominational battles.

[5] Joel A. Carpenter, "Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism,1929-1942," *Church History* 49 (March, 1980): 62-75.

[6] William R. Glass, "The Development of Northern Patterns of Fundamentalism in the South, 1900-1950" (Ph. D. dissertation, Emory University, 1991), 63-129.

[7] The best study of Norris and his career is Barry Hankins, *God's Rascal: J. Frank Norris and the Beginnings of Southern Fundamentalism* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996). While Hankins may overstate Norris's role in introducing fundamentalist doctrine and controversy to southern Protestants, Norris is nonetheless a central character in the story. For a slightly different context to Norris's career, see Glass, "The Development of Northern Patterns," 124-128, 281-346, 383-403.

[8] In *Tried as by Fire: Southern Baptists and the Religious Controversies of the 1920s* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1982), 137-165, James J.Thompson discusses

Southern Baptist fundamentalism but describes little fundamentalism outside the orbit of Norris.

[9] C. Allyn Russell, "J. Frank Norris: Violent Fundamentalist," in *Voices of Fundamentalism: Seven Biographical Studies* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), 39-40.

[10] Ibid., 34-37.

[11] A. T. Robertson to Lewis Sperry Chafer, 20 April 1928, in *Lewis Sperry Chafer Papers*, Mosher Library, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas. Robertson was a respected New Testament scholar at Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville and made this remark in the context of a minor controversy surrounding his appearance at Chafer's schools to deliver a series of lectures. On the announcement of Robertson's lectures, Norris wrote Chafer that Robertson was a theistic evolutionist. Chafer cabled Robertson for a response to the charge which Robertson emphatically denied. Thereupon Chafer politely told Norris to mind his own business. J. Frank Norris to Lewis Sperry Chafer, 17 April 1928; and Lewis Sperry Chafer to J. Frank Norris, 20 April 1928, in *Lewis Sperry Chafer Papers*.

[12] F. S. Groner, "Editor Norris Promotes a New Sect," *Baptist Standard*, 26 April 1923, 7.

[13] Norris continued in the 1930s his assault on the Convention by shifting his criticisms to new targets. Specifically, he charged SBC leaders with financial mismanagement and attacked their efforts to encourage SBC cooperation with ecumenical Protestantism. See J. Frank Norris, "What Has Been The Record of the Machine in Texas," in *Inside History of First Baptist Church, Fort Worth and Temple Baptist Church, Detroit: Life Story of Dr. J. Frank Norris* (Ft. Worth: privately published, 1938), 173-175, 186-189. See also comments in J. Frank Norris, "The Triple Major Operation in Detroit," in ibid., 159-161; J. Frank Norris to Victor I. Masters, 5 March 1932 and letter with no date (internal evidence suggests summer, 1932), in *J. Frank Norris Papers,* Box 27 Folder 1228, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee (hereafter cited as *JFN* papers).

[14] On his ministry in Detroit see, Russell, "J. Frank Norris," 30, 40; cf., J. Frank Norris, "How the Dual Pastorate Was Brought About," in *Inside History*, 269-271.

[15] Bible Baptist Seminary, *Catalog*, 1948-49, 11-12, in *JFN Papers*, 15-703. The *Catalog*, 17, made clear the dependence of the school on the church for its facilities. The seminary had a rent-free 199-year lease on all the property of the church.

[16] Billy Vick Barlett, *The Beginnings: A Pictorial History of the Baptist Bible Fellowship* (Springfield, Mo.: Baptist Bible College, 1975), 19-21.

[17] In this discussion, I am much indebted to the fine analysis of Norris's anticommunism in Hankins, *God's Rascal*, 138-160.

[18] Ibid., 116.

[19] In this regard, Norris may have been different from other fundamentalists. In *An Undercurrent of Suspicion: Anti-Communism in America during World War II* (Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 148, George Sirgiovanni notes that many

fundamentalists continued "to preach vigorously against the evils of communism, [but] to a rather insular audience of true believers." He devotes a significant portion of one chapter to the ranting of Gerald L. K. Smith as an example of an extreme Protestant critic of the wartime alliance with the Soviet Union. But Sirgiovanni argues that more moderate fundamentalists endorsed the necessity of cooperation with communists, though they still worried that the results of such cooperation might end up benefitting the expansionist goals of communist leaders. Ibid., 163-4.

[20] Hankins, in *God's Rascal*, 281-300, makes clear that Norris's attack on Newton was one part of a much larger anticommunist campaign Norris conducted in the late 1940s.

[21] "President Louie DeVotie Newton," *Christian Index*, 30 May 1946, 4 (hereafter cited as *CI*).

[22] Newton chaired the SBC committee that coordinated the collection of funds for the distribution of 175,000 kits of household items to Russian families in 1945. "Dr. L. D. Newton Will Tour Devastated Areas of Russia," *CI*, 30 May 1946, 11.

[23] Newton gave an account of his tour in a series of articles published in Baptist newspapers. See Louie D. Newton, "What I Saw and Heard in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," *CI*, 12 September, 1946, 5-6; 19 September 1946, 5, 23-24; 26 September 1946, 5-6; and 3 October 1946, 5-6, 28.

[24] Ibid., 26 September 1946, 6.

[25] William C. Fletcher, *The Russian Orthodox Church Underground, 1917-1970* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 153.

[26] Walter Sawatsky, "Protestantism in the USSR," *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union*, ed. by Sabrina Petri Ramjet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 329. On the Orthodox Church, see Dimity Pospielovsky, *The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime, 1917-1982* (Crestwood, NJ: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984), vol. 1, 193-219.

[27] "Dr. Newton Welcomes Discussion of His Report on Russia," *Baptist and Reflector*, 2 January 1947, 5.

[28] Louie D. Newton, "Baptist Leader Makes Official Report on His Russian Visit," Atlanta *Constitution*, 26 August 1946, 9. Newton also affirmed that he returned to America "more deeply committed to the doctrine of Democracy than ever before" and that he believed "Communism is not the answer to the world's greatest need." In "3,500 Hear Dr. Newton in Report on Russia," 26 August 1946, 1, 4, the *Constitution* reported that two white supremacists picketed the meeting with a banner charging Newton with "selling Communism to the U. S. A."

[29] "Innocent Abroad," 68. The Louisville *Courier-Journal* agreed and suggested that Newton had seen what the Russians had wanted him to see and therefore "innocently" wanted to believe "the best of another fellow," even if he was Stalin. Quoted in "Louie and the U.S.S.R.," *Time*, 9 September 1946, 80.

[30] "Louie," 79.

[31] Editorial reprinted in *CI*, 12 September 1946, 5.

[32] *CI*, 19 September 1946, 14.

[33] Ibid; "Baptist Pastor Urges Dr. Newton to Resign Post," Atlanta *Constitution*, 29 August 1946, 13.

[34] J. Frank Norris to Luther C. Peak, 19 March 1947, in *JFN Papers*, 34-1508.

[35] This according to an anonymous letter sent to Ralph McGill, 23 May 1947, in *JFN Papers*, 28-1318.

[36] Norris gained access by having his church donate $50 to the Cooperative Program designated for foreign missions which entitled First Baptist to send two messengers to the convention. The church selected Norris and William Fraser, an evangelist who was a member of the church. E. P. Buxton to F. Mattison, 31 March 1947; and Jane Hartwell to the Southern Baptist Convention, 30 April 1947, in *JFN Papers*, 29-1356.

[37] J. Frank Norris to Louie D. Newton, 7 May 1947, in *JFN Papers*, 29-1356. Norris sent the press a copy of the questions he tried to ask which were published in various newspapers including the Dallas *News* and the Ft. Worth *Star-Telegram*. J. Frank Norris to J. Wesley Edwards, 20 May 1947, in *JFN Papers*, 29-1355.

[38] "St. Louis Blues," *Time*, 19 May 1947, 70. See also Russell's account in "J. Frank Norris," 42-43.

[39] The previous year, McGill came to Newton's side by affirming editorially that Newton was "right" in suggesting that Russia had more religious freedom under the Soviets than under the czars. Ralph McGill, "Religion Can Be a Club," Atlanta *Constitution*, 29 August 1946, 10.

[40] Ralph McGill, "J. Frank Norris Gets Shouted Down," Atlanta *Constitution*, 8 May 1947, clipping in *JFN Papers*, 28-1318. McGill also noted, "As a Ku Klux shouter, J. Frank Norris naturally exhibits the Ku Klux ideal." In *God's Rascal*, 165-166, Hankins reports that he found no evidence that Norris was a member of the Klan or that he spoke before Klan rallies. Hankins does indicate that Norris's views on race relations and Catholics were in line with the Klan's but that Norris developed these views independent of the Klan.

[41] J. Frank Norris to Ralph McGill, 10 May 1947, in *JFN Papers*, 28-1318.

[42] Samuel D. Hewlett to J. Frank Norris, 22 May 1947, in *JFN Papers*, 2-60. Hewlett explained that Georgia law prevented criminal libel actions until a newspaper had the chance to correct misstatement of facts.

[43] Allen Post to Samuel D. Hewlett, 15 August 1947, typed copy in *JFN Papers*, 2-60.

[44] J. Frank Norris to Samuel D. Hewlett, 27 February 1948, in *JFN Papers*, 2-60; and J. Frank Norris to Samuel D. Hewlett, 4 March and 8 March 1948; and Samuel D. Hewlett to J. Frank Norris, 12 March 1948, in *JFN Papers*, 2-61. In the first letter, Norris explained that the delay resulted from his extended tour of Palestine.

[45] "Concerning a Previous Article," Atlanta *Constitution*, 20 March 1948, clipping in *JFN Papers*, 2-61. McGill also corrected the misinformation concerning Norris's career.

[46] J. Frank Norris to Samuel D. Hewlett, 31 March 1941 [sic, 1948], in *JFN Papers*, 2-61.

[47] J. Frank Norris to Luther C. Peak, 19 April 1947, in *JFN Papers*, 34-1508.

[48] Victor I. Masters to J. Frank Norris, 14 March 1948, in *JFN Papers*, 27-1229. "Convention Head Re-Elected," *Baptist Standard*, 22 May 1947, 1.

[49] J. Frank Norris to E. P. Alldredge, 31 August 1948, in *E. P. Alldredge Papers*, box 1, file 30, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tenn.

[50] Harold E. Frey, "Why They Behave like Southern Baptists," *Christian Century*, 21 May 1947, 649.

[51] Roscoe Turner to J. Frank Norris, 15 April 1948; Maylon D. Watkins to J. Frank Norris, 9 April 1948, in *JFN Papers*, 2-61. Both men indicated they wanted to send the copies to each person on their mailing lists.

[52] Evidently, Norris had the habit of sending unsolicited mailings and subscriptions to his newspaper to whomever he desired, including members of Newton's Atlanta congregation. He regularly received requests from the recipients to have their names removed from his mailing list. A flurry of such requests appeared after Norris's attack on Newton in St. Louis. One congregant wrote to Norris, "We have been receiving your paper for several months now, and it has been consistently thrown in the trash basket every week... We did not subscribe to this sinister, sordid trash and have no desire to receive it." Mrs. Julian L. Crook to J. Frank Norris, *JFN Papers*, 29-1354. This folder and the next (29-1355) contain many such letters as well as others supporting Norris in his crusade. Another part of his harassment of Newton included sending Sunday morning telegrams to try to disrupt Newton's services. The deacons at Druid Hills Baptist Church intercepted them and threw them away as well. Dallas Lee, "State Baptist Leader Louie D. Newton Dies," *AC*, 4 June 1986, A6.

[53] A good overview of these points is Stephen J. Whitfield's *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), especially Chapter 2 "Seeing Red: The Stigma" and Chapter 6 "Reeling: The Politics of Film."

[54] The columns cited in subsequent notes usually had comments on one or more of these topics. These columns usually consisted of several paragraphs on a variety of topics. Rarely did a column deal with just one issue.

[55] This perspective was responsible for his muted criticism of Churchill's Iron Curtain speech. Though he called the speech "significant," he suggested that Churchill's criticism of the Soviet Union's aggressiveness was misplaced in light of the record of the British Empire. Louie D. Newton, "This Changing World," *CI*, 21 March 1946, 7.

[56] Ibid., 4 April 1946, 7.

[57] Louie D. Newton, editorial, *CI*, 26 June 1947, 4.

[58] See reprint of telegram, Frank Tipp to O. P. Gilbert, 21 May 1946, in *CI*, 30 May 1946, 5; R. Paul Caudill, "'Complete the Doing,'" *CI*, 4 July 1946, 6; "Baptists Seek Clothes for Million, Also Million Dollars for Relief," *CI*, 16 October 1947, 3; and Harvey R. Mitchell, "Baptists Must Give Food to Europe," *CI*, 18 December 1947, 3.

[59] H. C. Goerner, a professor of missions in an SBC seminary, described the efforts of other denominations and urged Southern Baptists to accept part of the burden for relief because "God is giving us one last chance in our generation to evangelize a world before a pagan world destroys itself and us." H. C. Goerner, "Southern Baptists and the World Emergency," *CI*, 28 February 1946, 3.

[60] Duke McCall, "McCall Pleads for Baptist Relief in Europe," *CI*, 4 September 1947, 5.

[61] Louie D. Newton, "This Changing World," *CI*, 16 October 1947, 7.

[62] "World Relief Report," *CI*, 5 September 1946, 1; and "It Was Done Last Year," *CI*, 17 July 1947, 8.

[63] "Georgia's Churches Unite for Relief Drive," *CI*, 27 November 1947, 3; and "The Answer is You," *CI*, 11 December 1947, 4.

[64] McCall, "McCall Pleads," 5.

[65] Russell, 25.

[66] According to Lee, A6, famed Atlanta mayor William B. Hartsfield "winced" whenever Newton appeared in his office door.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Cited by Mark Silk, *Spiritual Politics: Religion and America Since World War II* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 88.

[69] Ibid., 94-100.

[70] See, for example the discussion in Louis Gasper, *The Fundamentalist Movement, 1930-1956* (Netherlands: Mouton & Company, 1963; reprint ed., Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981), 46-49, 59-71; and in Michael Lienesch, *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 211-223.

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